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Belene Nuclear Plant Builders Begin Strike

*AU1902081090 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] The builders of the Belene nuclear plant began their strike. They demand to meet with Stanko Todorov and Andrey Lukanov and to put an end to protracting and delaying the construction of the Belene nuclear plant. Our correspondent Tsvetan Tochev has more details:

[Begin Tochev recording] On 18 February I had a talk with [first name indistinct] (?Batov), chief director of the Nuclear Power Supply Investment Enterprise, and Yordan Stoyanov, secretary of the party committee of the Belene nuclear plant construction project. They told me that the situation at the construction site has not changed. By 1800 [1600 GMT] on 18 February there was still no confirmation from Sofia about any meeting that was supposed to take place in Belene at 1000 [0800 GMT] today. If this meeting does not begin by 1000 [0800 GMT] the strike committee's motorcade, composed of excavators and other construction equipment, will head for Sofia.

Until recently, the icy northern wind near the Danube, where the nuclear plant is to be constructed, froze many basic secondary construction sites, but now everything is boiling. The weather is warmer now. The workers returned to their brigades and instead of the northern wind, they are now facing a new storm: strikes and protests.

Almost 7,500 highly qualified workers, most of whom also worked at the Kozloduy nuclear plant construction site, are again forced to wait. Now they are awaiting the competent decision of an independent commission of nuclear power supply experts.

The issue is whether the workers will resume their work or whether they will leave this region, where almost 1 billion leva have already been invested in constructing underground installations and apartments.

The workers who are preparing for today's march on Sofia say that they are aware of the nation's difficult economic situation but they do not seek any material benefits. They simply demand to protect their right to work. [end recording]

Here is a report that we have just received: Comrade Stanko Todorov will visit Belene today and will meet the workers.

Todorov Meets Builders

*AU2002073790 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] Our correspondent Tsvetan Tsechev reports that a meeting between Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, and the leadership of building organizations and representatives of the workers collective

that is building the Belene Nuclear Power Plant took place in the town of Belene today.

After discussing the tense situation that has recently emerged at the building site, a protocol was adopted.

The protocol points out that more time is required for preparing the results of Bulgarian and foreign nuclear experts' analyses on the project situation. An agreement was reached that construction work should be pursued on sub-projects that will not be subject to additional redrafting.

All work will be suspended in the area of the nuclear reactor, except for completing operations on metal constructions that should not be wasted.

The participants in the meeting confirmed that the proposal of the parliamentary commission and the decision of the National Assembly on the fate of this national project should be awaited.

Two alternatives were agreed upon. The first reads as follows: If the National Assembly should decide to pursue the construction of the nuclear power station, the Council of Ministers should issue a decree expected to settle the method of construction, the deadlines of commissioning, and the method of financing.

The second alternative reads: If the construction should be totally suspended, the labor collective should obtain moral and material compensation.

A rally attended by approximately 3,000 people was held in the afternoon, at which the decisions were reported to the labor collective.

Following this, Stanko Todorov, accompanied by experts of the Belene Power Plant, departed for Svishtov.

Todorov Discusses Problems

*AU1902215290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, met representatives of all parties, social organizations, and movements in Svishtov. The meeting took place in connection with the serious public reaction against the construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant.

Ivan Kharalambiev, National Assembly deputy from Svishtov and member of the parliamentary commission dealing with the problem of nuclear power, which began its work on 16 February, informed the participants in the meeting that the commission is currently examining the economic expediency of building a second nuclear power station in Bulgaria.

The 20 scientists and specialists who took the floor at the meeting submitted the arguments of the Svishtov public against the construction of the nuclear power station.

Stanko Todorov stressed that the National Assembly is expected to decide on the future of the nuclear power station in question after getting acquainted with the views of the parliamentary commission.

Within this period, construction work on the nuclear reactor and on the sub-projects connected with it will not be pursued, but only infrastructural projects in the area will be built further. Part of the builders released from Belene are expected to be transferred to the communal projects in Svishtov, Kozloduy, and Strazhitsa.

Pointing out that the parliamentary commission is open to proposals and opinions coming from all specialists, including those from the Svishtov Municipality, Stanko Todorov announced that an agreement has already been signed with experts from the United States and negotiations are under way for independent expert analyses by specialists from the FRG and Japan.

After the meeting, the official participants were expected by thousands of citizens who spontaneously gathered around the party house in Svishtov. The loud exclamations and general noise did not permit Stanko Todorov to speak more than half an hour on the decisions adopted at the aforementioned meeting.

This situation was a clear expression of the general social tension of the local population, which having suffered from the experience of the tragedies after the March 1977 earthquake, has lost all hopes that the people's voices protesting against the construction of the second nuclear power plant would be heard.

Living Costs More Than Double in Decade

*AU1702191590 Sofia BTA in English
1838 GMT 17 Feb 90*

["The Bulgarians' Consumer Goods Basket"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—An average four-member Bulgarian household spent 3,820 leva on its upkeep in 1979. If it were to retain the same content of its consumer goods basket in 1989, it should have spent 8,826 leva. This implies that the cost of living in this country has more than doubled during the last ten years. In both cases the cost of living was calculated on the basis of a definite amount of goods and services traditionally used by a Bulgarian household. These figures are cited in RABOTNICHESKO DELO by Ms. Romyana Krалева, D.Sc. (Econ.). She points out that the cost of living has grown due to the gradual increase of prices of prime necessities and essential services despite the official policy of stable prices.

Price growth is not the only factor pushing up the cost of living in Bulgaria. The author analyses official 1987 statistics about the purchasing power of the average wage in Bulgaria, on the one hand, and in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the USSR, Austria, France and the FRG, on the other. The figures show that

Bulgaria's average monthly wage can buy the smallest amount of flour, sugar, fruits, milk and almost the smallest amount of cheese, chickens, meat and vodka. The cost of living is high in Bulgaria because people's earnings can buy less than they used to in this country and less than in the other countries now. An automatic washing machine here costs 2.7 average monthly wages, and a TV set costs 3.9 wages.

Bulgarians have been impoverished due to the inadequate economic mechanisms. The foot-dragging in the process of bringing the country into line with genuine forms of ownership and genuine market mechanisms does not imply care of the socially disadvantaged but rather a systematic increase of their number, something which has been successfully done for years on end, Ms. Krалева writes.

Markov Not Killed by Secret Services

*AU1702143990 Sofia BTA in English
1347 GMT 17 Feb 90*

["The Umbrella Was Not Bulgarian"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—Mr. Yordan Ormankov, spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, told RABOTNICHESKO DELO that writer Georgi Markov was not killed by the Bulgarian secret services.

"I believe and, moreover, I know that the Bulgarian state and its specialised institutions have nothing to do with this case," Mr. Ormankov says. He dismisses the version about the "Bulgarian umbrella," rumoured to have been used in the murder of Georgi Markov.

Mr. Ormankov reveals that the Bulgarian Government approached Britain through diplomatic channels immediately after Markov's death in the autumn of 1978 and offered assistance in the investigation of the circumstances. The then British ambassador in Sofia, Mr. J.C. Cloake, delivered the reply of the competent British authorities on January 8, 1979. They declined the offer as "undesirable at this point."

"There was something unconvincing in the version promoted in the West, particularly so when other people, Bulgarians who worked for the special services here and who defected to the West, taking along top-secret documents, and who were then sentenced to death here are still safe and sound, and one of them has even repatriated," says Mr. Ormankov, who was a friend of Georgi Markov's before the latter emigrated.

Lilov Inaugurates Election Campaign

*AU1602123090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 12 Feb 90 pp 1,2*

[Report by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Supreme Council: "The Party's Renewal and Preparations for Parliamentary Elections—Uniform Process of Implementing the Decisions

of the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress" read at a party leadership meeting in Sofia on 11 February]

[Text] Comrades, the reasons for convening today's conference so soon after the 14th congress can be described as follows:

We all realize the political necessity of more thoroughly assessing the congress' results and the documents it adopted. This necessity is determined both by the nature of the congress and by the special circumstances under which it took place.

In view of all this, we need clear directions for the party's work on a short-term and medium-term basis.

It would be particularly useful to draw some useful conclusions from the congressional proceedings and from the response they evoked in our society, in the party itself, and worldwide.

It is very important to express our stand and the party's approach to the forthcoming preelection political situation, after which we should develop effective measures for winning the elections under the present circumstances of pluralism and political struggle.

In the context of these problems and considering the tasks they involve for the party organizations and local leaderships, it is very important to hear your opinions, proposals and views after listening to the Presidium report, and with joint efforts, to seek optimal solutions in accordance with the present circumstances.

On the other hand, the requirement for today's meeting is determined by certain, specific reasons.

The party has not yet overcome the confusion, inertia, and passivity resulting from the serious political, economic, social, and moral crisis into which the abuses and deformations of the former authoritarian regime precipitated our country.

A realistic possibility of overcoming this situation is now emerging.

We can envision two basic methods of implementing this possibility:

The first—to engage in active efforts for discussions and implementation of the decisions adopted at the 14th congress.

The second—to engage in active work for the preparation of the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

These two streams of party activities should merge into one and this merging can be expressed in the following manner: **The forthcoming elections should be regarded as a lesson and indicator for the party's real renewal.**

There is nothing more important than the political struggle for election victory—because this victory is most

closely related to our party's capability of prompt transformation and genuine renewal. This should help us to find the correct method of overcoming the political and economic crisis.

The process of the party's renewal and the process of the political struggle in the election campaign are now merging in a joint process that essentially consists of the following four basic elements:

1. The party's ability to adopt the initiative for an open-minded, critical, and competent discussion of the most urgent problems affecting the whole country, every inhabited settlement, and every labor collective is one of these elements. We should now engage in a frank and sincere dialogue with the people and the public.

2. We should also mention the party's ability to defend the people's economic achievements over the last 45 years, the living standard, the assets of education, health protection, and culture, which rescued Bulgaria from the backwardness of the past and represent the basis for our country's further development. These real achievements should not be denigrated.

3. The party's ability to pursue its criticism of the shortcomings, abuses, corruption, and degeneration, of the crisis and its results, of those responsible for the shortcomings who disgraced themselves and the party over the years of the authoritarian regime is also one of the aforementioned elements. We should loyally accept the people's criticism and be ready to answer their critical but justified questions. We should seek personal responsibility from those who abused the power and the trust placed in them, and we should not hesitate to assume our personal and partywide responsibility for the shortcomings in question.

4. The party's ability to wage an active political struggle against the slanders of certain ill-intentioned political forces, or individuals who are trying to take advantage of the critical situation and of the party's readiness for self-criticism for their own selfish goals, who are insulting the party and socialism, in general, and denigrating everything of value that has been achieved, who are subjecting the party, its members, and cadres, to moral and psychological inquisition, is also one of these elements. We cannot permit the party to be crucified and the socialist ideas defamed.

To put it briefly, the party organizations, Communists, and cadres should adopt an active political stand and engage in energetic political efforts on the questions about which our society and our citizens are concerned today, and which are the focus of public opinion and discussions.

All this should be accomplished in a democratic and civilized style, with persuasion and unmistakable conviction.

The party should put an end to political passivity and engage in active political struggle and action.

As of tomorrow, all party members, from the Supreme Party Council down to the basic party organizations, should adopt and implement these most important, topical party directives. **This should be the end of political passivity, the transition to active political struggle and action.**

In order to follow the aforementioned directive, there should be no misunderstanding about the question which are the most important conclusions from the 14th Extraordinary Congress and the major forthcoming party tasks in preparing the elections.

I. Basic Conclusions from the 14th BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Extraordinary Congress

The 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress can be most briefly characterized as the **congress of the party's renewal**. The congress was held under the circumstances of a political, economic, social, and moral crisis of our society, under the circumstances of a confidence crisis within the party. The congress had to decide upon the question of our party's future image. Many of our opponents were expecting a split in the party, or even its disintegration. As a matter of fact, we, who represent the party and its leadership had to overcome numerous stereotype attitudes, which were deeply rooted in our way of thinking, in our understanding, and concepts.

How could we describe the work of the congress in most general terms?

The congress was, for the most part, positively assessed in our country and abroad; the positive assessment is predominant. This results from the following facts:

We rejected the authoritarian inheritance of the former regime.

We engaged in a fundamental reorganization of the leading staff in the party's central organs, thus creating prerequisites for a democratization of the party's working style.

The position of the innovative forces within the party was consolidated, which was most clearly expressed in the documents adopted at the congress.

A new democratic trend was mapped out in party work.

We could say that, unlike the other East European communist parties, the BCP at its 14th Extraordinary Congress found an original method of self-preservation and of preserving its political role in social restructuring. For this reason, the congress can be described as an event that transformed the party into a serious political force proceeding along a fundamentally new path—the path of democratic socialism.

The political style of the Bulgarian Communists today is civilized, self-controlled, and respectful. Their discipline and strength exert a positive impact on the people and cannot fail to impress the newly emerging political forces in our country.

The work of the congress was instructive, also in other respects, of course.

We could clearly observe at the congress that certain deeply rooted old habits and outdated stereotypes, which developed over the years, did not produce any positive results under the circumstances of the new atmosphere. Hence, the conclusion that new attitudes should develop within the party, that democratic, new methods of work should prevail in the work of large party forums, and all throughout the party's activities.

We observed the struggle between the old and new forces, which was not always to the advantage of the new forces. It was difficult to impose the element of renewal, not as a formula, or a declaration, but as an inner readiness, as a political and cultural model, as a method of action. This situation was expressed by several signs of tension related to procedural matters.

The most widely spread weakness affecting us Communists today is the incapacity of transition to new political thinking and action. The long-standing merging of party work with the exercise of administrative power deprived many Communists of their real personality and made them incapable of engaging in real political activities. They are waiting for instructions from the top and the more complicated the situation becomes, the more they rely on such instructions. They appear on speakers' rostrums to talk about things that are far removed from topical and urgent problems, without realizing that time is pressing, and without engaging in a competent, businesslike, and constructive analysis of the situation.

The beginning of the party's democratization process creates a favorable atmosphere for assuming personal responsibility and for adopting resolute stands, but the majority of Communists and cadres are not ready for this, while a strong tendency toward the thirst for revenge and for settling accounts is visible.

It is an important lesson to remember that every great change has realistic, possible limits that should be observed. Some of the delegates at the congress did not manifest the necessary maturity in discussing the major and particularly important political problems related to the organizational structure, to cadres, inner-party relations, and others. This issue, however, assumes great importance under the circumstances of the current, complicated political situation.

Which are the basic conclusions on the results of the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress?

The chief result of the congress was the fact that it **selected the correct trend and path for the party's development**. A realistic evaluation of the party's present state and activities was made. Without underestimating the existing moral and intellectual values and without totally negating the past achievements, the congress denounced the deformations of the past and accomplished a decisive

step forward in the direction of the party's de-Stalinization, toward the establishment of a new type of modern, Marxist party.

The congress developed a platform for the party's fundamental renewal. By proclaiming the party's new goals, the congress managed to fill up the serious ideological vacuum that had recently emerged. Prior to the congress, the party, which had endorsed the decisions of the 10 November plenum with hope and conviction, was confused by the accelerated development of events and was affected by the lack of well-founded, new directives for its own restructuring. Comrade Petur Mladenov's report, the Manifesto and the party's new Statute, however, provided more clarity and a powerful impetus for the party's renewal. The innovative processes are only beginning, but the first steps have been accomplished, and this is the main thing. The congressional debates showed that any restoration of authoritarian leadership is unthinkable, although the dismantling of the old system and the establishment of a new democratic system and democratic culture are expected to be a prolonged, difficult, and even painful process.

Another basic result from the congress is the fact that the party preserved its political and organizational unity. This is not the monolithic unity of the recent past, but a new type of unity based on the variety of the current ideological currents and platforms. It is a unity based on different concepts about the problems, methods, and means of achieving the final goal. However, the very fact that such differences were manifested at the congress and that they were not concealed, is one of its merits.

The Ideological pluralism that was manifested at the congress is a new phenomenon and an important event in our party's life. The fact that the representatives of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], of the "Road to Europe" platform, of the "BCP—Democratic Forum," of the Movement for Democratic Socialism, the Movement for the Development of Marxism and Renewal of Socialism, of the Movement for the Defense of Socialism and Restructuring and representatives of other ideological formations could express their views is very important. Part of these ideological formations are represented in the Supreme BCP Council. All this confirms the existence of real democracy within the party and shows the initiated process of creating a new type of party.

Numerous questions remained open at the congress, of course. The congress did not succeed in bringing the existing trends sufficiently close together. It is not a question of eliminating, or glossing over the differences, but of overcoming the irreconcilable contradictions between the extremes and the conflict between them. These extremes remained and will continue to exercise their influence over the party during the election campaign.

Despite the support for the radical decisions adopted by the congress, the ASO representatives withdrew from the Supreme Party Council. I think that we should manifest

patience and tolerance toward the zigzag developments of the current inner-party trends and not dramatize them, but accumulate valuable new experience in dealing with them and quickly draw our correct lessons from this development. We should by all means build up our party's new, democratic unity.

The third, basic result of the congress is the fact that the party's unity was preserved on a principled basis, and not on the basis of compromise or on the basis of an eclectic platform. The party's unity is based on the Manifesto whose core is democratic socialism. The Manifesto mapped out the party's new ideological essence and trend of development. Democratic socialism is the guideline for the party's new ideological concepts and path of development, namely, the path of its profound inner and social restructuring. It would not be sufficiently accurate to point out that the party has simply remained a Marxist party. It is beginning to turn into a modern, Marxist party, with an innovated theory, goals, values, and ideals, with an expanding social base, including workers, peasants, the engineering-technical intelligentsia, the representatives of arts and culture, and all our humanitarian intelligentsia. The party proclaimed the construction of democratic socialism as its immediate task and it is striving to become a party of democratic socialism. The Manifesto is by no means one of many political documents issued by our party, but a basic document for its renewal as long as a new program has not been adopted. Discussions within the party organizations should be conducted on the party program, but the Manifesto should not be an alibi document for us, it should be regarded as our own platform for the party's renewal. Dear comrades, take care that the Manifesto is not forgotten, or underestimated. You should turn it into a working document for the party's renewal. You should, however, avoid adorning the Manifesto with pompous praises and adjectives because people are tired and bored with such practices. You should interpret its text as the announcement of forthcoming changes that we should immediately embark upon. "Change"—this is the key word that we should adopt in our work today. Is there a change, is there no change? This is the question that interests people today.

The congress also resolved another question of exceptional importance—it established the party's new organizational foundations and adopted a new BCP Statute. The main issue in this respect was the adoption of the principle of democratic unity that replaced democratic principle. This actually means that the party instructions should be replaced by party persuasion about the correctness of a decision that has been adopted. This is an infinitely more difficult, but also a much more rewarding task. Under the circumstances of democracy and pluralism, only a party that bases its activities on persuasion and on the individual involvement of its members, and not on administrative coercion, is capable of standing the harshest political trials, of surviving, and of being successful.

The considerable renewal of the party's cadre staff is an exceptionally important result of the 14th congress. This change of personnel applies to basic and municipal party organizations, as well as to the high-ranking leading party organs. The change can be described as a positive factor. Involving new people means involving new energies, greater competence, and also means that we are distancing ourselves from the discrediting inheritance of the past. The renewal of cadres provides a new moral image for the party. The cadres should preserve their moral purity and be constantly promoted on the basis of their deeds, and only on this basis, on the basis of their social and moral prestige. Our new cadres are facing a very hard test—namely the elections. Everyone of us should find the strength to pass this test.

We are simultaneously required to draw unmistakable conclusions about certain considerable difficulties, and we should not conceal some alarming aspects of the party's situation, which were manifested at the congress. I would like to point out the most essential among them:

In many places the renewal of party organizations and cadres, of the party's ideas, and activities are in the earliest stage of development—in certain places this development is in its initial phase, and in other places it is only formal. We should clearly realize this very fact and evaluate it as an alarming phenomenon, which should be overcome in our future work. It is evident that the party cannot achieve its renewal within the next 24 hours, however, it is also clear that this process should not start tomorrow, but today, and that it cannot last until the second coming. We should more drastically, more visibly, and more effectively break away from the outdated way of thinking, from the methods and approaches of the past, and adopt the new trends and style of party work. Let us learn to pursue and achieve our goals under the conditions of democratic pluralism—this is the core of renewal in party work today.

The force of resistance and inertia of conservative thinking and action very strongly manifested themselves at the congress. Conservatism and dogmatism are still alive in the minds of numerous party circles. The breakthrough in new thinking is still too slow. The capability for creative thought, original analysis, and a new method of assessing the current problems is still underdeveloped. It is clear that the political platform of the party is not capable of overcoming this inertia at one stroke. This requires serious efforts and the most important thing is that it requires the involvement of young, talented Communists and cadres from all spheres of professional life. On the other hand, we should part with the illusion that a formalistic, superficial renewal, as it was practiced in the past, is possible, while things should remain essentially the same as they were before. This would further destroy the already shaken confidence of our society, in its majority, regarding our party..

An evident shortage of political realism that is really alarming manifested itself in connection with evaluating the new situation in the country. Numerous comrades

continue to regard this situation from the point of view of outdated postulates and stereotype ideas. On the other hand, we observe a lack of political experience and political responsibility, a lack of political culture among certain party circles.

We are facing the danger of certain efforts to settle old accounts, of tension in the mutual relations of certain party circles. This is our old weakness and longtime trouble. We should devote all our efforts to restore a pure, moral atmosphere within the party. The party organizations should oppose uncompromising resistance to all those comrades who accept broad democratism within the party as an opportunity for fanning disputes, for unjustified slander, and defamations addressed at certain party members and cadres. There should be no place and no pardon for slanderers and writers of anonymous denunciations in our party, especially under the present circumstances, when the party is exposed to particularly violent attacks from the outside.

The majority of party cadres and Communists still regard their relations with society and with the nonparty people from the point of view of the party's power monopoly and "leading role." This is an obstacle to the political dialogue and likely to further jeopardize the party's influence. It represents an obstacle to the opportunities for alliance and cooperation with other democratic political and social forces.

It is particularly important to intensify relations and cooperation with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] by strictly observing the principles of guaranteeing the independence of both parties. It is especially important today to consolidate the workers-peasants' and the Communist-Agrarian alliance. We should adopt the initiative for this cooperation, especially on a local scale, and purge our relations from the remnants of the past. We should consistently follow the policy of dialogue with the other political forces existing in our country, on the basis of discussions and cooperation, but also in a honest political struggle.

The fact that the new relations between party and state are not always clearly defined, especially on a local scale, is a cause of concern. In many places of our country the separation and division of functions between party and state functions, organs, and cadres is not proceeding with the required speed and thoroughness.

The congress did not map out a clear-cut party platform on economic problems and this task should be accomplished as soon as possible. Our election platform should contain a realistic and competent stand on the country's current, most urgent economic and social problems.

We could point out other causes for concern stemming from the present situation and showing that the BCP has engaged in the process of its renewal as a party that endorses democratic socialism, but has to cope with the difficult inheritance of the past and with complicated

problems that we should soberly analyze, and—above all—resolve in order to achieve the goals mapped out in the Manifesto.

II. Some Immediate Tasks of the Party in the Post-Congress Period

Comrades, The decisive problem of combining the implementation of the congressional decisions and the preparations for the forthcoming National Assembly elections is the main task of the Supreme Party Council, of the municipal party councils, and of the Communists today. This confronts the party organizations with the following important tasks in their practical work:

1. The work of the party organizations should be promptly coordinated with the new statute regulations, without this turning into a new election campaign in basic party organizations. According to the Supreme Party Council, the most acceptable alternative today is to transform the elected municipal committees and control auditing commissions into municipal party councils and into municipal finance-auditing commissions. The election of local commissions on party ethics and of the respective chairmen could perhaps be postponed until after the elections. The same applies to the guarantee for a 50-percent representation of basic party organizations in the municipal party council.

These proposals are required because of the danger that a new election campaign at all levels of the party structures might divert the attention and efforts of the Communists from their major, topical tasks in connection with the National Assembly elections.

2. As for the oblast committees, it would be expedient to disband them and establish provisional coordination party councils composed of the chairmen of municipal party councils and the former oblast committee secretaries, with the purpose of coordinating the activities related to the party's election campaign.

The party cadres require all our attention and care. Every capable and honest party functionary who has not discredited himself should be most actively involved in the party's election campaign, regardless of the question, whether he is still on the party payroll, is retired, or has been transferred to another job. Personal attention should be devoted to every party functionary and to his future development as a human being and as a worker. I am talking about specialists, about people who have devoted all their professional life to party work.

3. The question of party cadres on the payroll who have been released from their jobs at the recent municipal election conferences, or as a result of the reduction of municipal party councils' payroll apparatus. This also applies to party cadres from factory, village, and other former party committees. Numerous cadres have lost their jobs as a result of the necessary renewal and recruitment of new party cadres on the payroll. We should also mention that certain leading cadres do not enjoy the necessary prestige and evoked the negative

reaction of public opinion demanding that they should be removed from the party organizations.

We should point out that, according to the present circumstances, it seems appropriate to resolutely assert the voluntary and independent principles of cadre work. In conformity with their own possibilities and wishes, some newly elected leaders of municipal party councils are currently entitled to retain their former jobs and to assume their party functions on a voluntary basis.

4. The party organizations in the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs should be restructured according to the territorial principle. The Supreme Party Council and the municipal party councils should devote particular attention and care to these cadres and Communists and most actively involve them not only in the election campaign, but also in party work generally speaking. A very strong and well-trained stream of party members and activists should join party work among the population because such people are badly needed today. They should be involved in specific political tasks as soon as possible.

III. Party Preparations for the Election Campaign: New Goals, New Policy, New Image, New Candidates

Comrades, it is our chief task today that the BCP should resolutely engage in the preparations for the election campaign. We must win the elections and restore the people's confidence. This is how the issue stands: Either the party wins the elections and the chance of innovating itself and socialist society, or the party is defeated and goes into opposition, which would not only mark the beginning of the party's progressive and accelerated weakening, but would presumably involve even more disastrous consequences.

The elections are only three months away. The most important present criterion for the implementation of the congressional decisions and for the quality of the renewal under way is the manner in which we are preparing for the elections. It is absolutely required that everyone of us should subject all his activities to the election campaign. All our efforts should be devoted to work outside the party—namely to the achievement of broad public support for the party's stand and for its candidates. It is vitally important that we should not again get caught in the closed circle of party organizations and engage in the "study" of congressional decisions and in similar, traditional occupations. The struggle for the people's confidence, to persuade every single individual—this is the most correct path for us today.

Numerous people and circles within our party seem not to realize what the existence of an opposition in our country actually means. They do not understand that the opposition is not a transitional phenomenon that is likely to vanish like a bad dream. The opposition is here to stay, it is an inseparable part of the political system based on democratic socialism. This means that the party should find a method of cooperation with the

opposition. The "roundtable" is a valuable experiment in this respect. The sooner we realize this, the better it would be. There is no reason to be afraid of the opposition. However, there is a reason for us to be concerned about our insufficient awareness of the situation, about the danger of being deprived of the initiative, about our passive attitude, and about the fact that we are underestimating the political opposition and allowing the existence of a political vacuum. These shortcomings should be overcome as soon as possible. The party has real opportunities for restoring its positions. The present situation should be evaluated in the following manner—the party is expected to win the elections if it tries to avoid mistakes. The following should be regarded as the main issue of our election campaign: **"Radical political, economic, and legal reform to be implemented under the conditions of peace and stability. A peaceful transition to an innovated, civic, democratic, socialist society is called for."**

In the Western bourgeois democracies, the opposition parties usually have recourse to a trivial, but nonetheless, effective arguments during the election campaigns: They claim that the ruling parties are already tired, worn out, and deprived of new and fresh ideas, after one, or two terms of office. Analogically, the opposition that has just established itself in our country is also widely applying this cliché, before even having started its election campaign. This is very convenient for our opposition, because it has not yet ruled the country and cannot be accused of shortcomings, or held responsible for the current problems.

I would like once more to stress and repeat:

Not only the opposition will criticize us. Therefore, let us learn how to listen to criticism, let us find out what we are being criticized for, and not only who is criticizing us. As a party, we should learn to listen to other people's opinions. We will be forced to hear grave accusations, and harsh words addressed against us. Let us get accustomed to accepting justified criticism, the criticism of our people. We must listen to this criticism. We must pay the price of our grave inheritance. We should act as an honest party, because this is the only way of restoring the shaken confidence. Along with this, we should be ready to engage in serious political struggle against slander and defamations related to our party. We will accept criticism, but we must reject all slander and defamations.

The BCP today is no longer the same party that existed before 10 November 1989 and prior to the Extraordinary BCP Congress. The party's new ideological and political orientation was mapped out at the congress in question. We adopted a critical approach to our past, and we were the initiators of the total renewal and democratization process under way in our society. We can provide popular, new ideas for the future. We have trained, highly qualified cadres whose qualities were confirmed and who are capable of promoting the transition to a

democratic and law-governed socialist state. These facts should be widely used as arguments in the election campaign.

We are capable of winning the elections because there is no other force capable of proposing a better platform, better candidates, and a more competent and reliable program for overcoming the crisis in Bulgaria today. The country must overcome the crisis because it affects the survival of our people, it affects freedom, democracy, and human rights, it affects the education, and cultural development of all our citizens.

Numerous factors determine and can change public opinion and election behavior, especially on the eve of the elections. Nevertheless, basing our position on recent sociological research polls, we could provide the following answer to the question for whom and for what the voters will cast their vote at the next elections:

1. The Bulgarian people support the idea of building democratic socialism and reject the restoration of capitalism. The overwhelming majority, however, attaches importance to a real improvement of living conditions. This is expected to be the decisive criterion for the voters at the forthcoming free elections.

2. The majority of voters are expected to base their choice on the personal qualities of the candidates and not only on their party affiliations. Most of the voters insist that candidates should be closely linked with the people, that they should not be suspected of corruption, that they should be competent, and express clear political stands.

3. In cases in which the election depends on the candidate's party affiliation, the present political orientation of the majority of voters is in favor of the BCP. Nevertheless, this is the most unstable and unpredictable factor of the aforementioned ones, a factor that is strongly influenced by the candidates' skill of efficiently organizing their election campaign.

This is the present situation, though the description may be incomplete, and perhaps not entirely accurate, but it is still sufficiently representative. The period of the election campaign is brief, while the situation is rapidly changing and the dynamic pace of the current processes is expected to be further accelerated.

The most important requirement is to nominate candidates endowed with pronounced personal qualities: They should distinguish themselves by their competence, professional skill, eloquence, public prestige, and popularity. Our election victory greatly depends on the image of the party candidate. It is absolutely required to propose several candidates who are to compete preliminarily for the votes of the party organizations and for their nomination as BCP candidates for the elections, and that this competition should take place in public and in an atmosphere of total glasnost. This can be called the first stage of the election campaign. The second stage requires that the nominated candidates should actively

engage in the election campaign among their constituents. These two stages should merge into each other. The broadest strata of voters, and not only party members, should be involved in discussions, open party conferences, rallies, meetings of collectives, and other events related to the election campaign. The voters should not only get acquainted with their eligible candidates, but should also personally witness the struggle of opinions, they should observe pluralism in action, and become familiar with the party's ideas.

We are expected to conduct a modern election campaign. We should learn from the most valuable worldwide experience, but also from the negative experience and the difficulties of other socialist countries. We all had the opportunity to convince ourselves of the disastrous results from free elections held under new conditions with outdated methods.

We envision the establishment of a special commission under the Supreme Party Council that should be exclusively in charge of the election campaign. It is expected to coordinate local campaign activities and promptly to meet the requirements of individual organizations, to provide information on various problems emerging in connection with our competition with the other candidates. The commission is in charge of facilitating relations among individual organizations, municipalities, and oblasts. The commission is expected to conduct permanent, operational investigations in the purpose of analyzing all events related to the campaign on a local scale. It is required to propose prompt methods of responding to current changes and to map out all emerging trends in public opinion, as well as to apply the necessary tactics in meeting topical requirements. The commission is expected to successfully propagate initiatives and ideas of individual local organizations. Similar, but less numerous, operational units may prove useful and be established all over the country.

The members of the Supreme Party Council are expected to hold meetings in municipalities, towns, villages, and enterprises as of this week. Within this period, party leaders and nationwide popular Communists from the sectors of science, arts, culture, and sports are expected to meet as many voters as possible all over the country. Their task should not only be to explain the party policy and platform, generally speaking, but to express specific support for the nominated BCP candidates in the relevant constituencies.

The scientific institutes affiliated with the party should concentrate their efforts on providing prompt information and expressing opinions on all crucial and topical issues emerging during the campaign and likely to attract the people's attention.

No one should wait for instructions from the Supreme Party Council and from the other oblast and municipal party organs during the election campaign. The party should be widely open to the topical problems of life,

while the voluntary self-management principles should become the basic form of political life in our country.

It is a matter of exceptional importance to release the energies of the basic party organizations, to encourage their initiatives, and to assist them in their election campaign activities so that they may not be paralyzed by restrictions, or be obliged to wait for instructions from superior organs. It is also required to promote the coordination of actions, relations, and exchange of experience between the basic local organizations, but this should be effectuated in a direct and businesslike manner, without involving party organs on a municipal and regional scale.

The election campaign should coordinate national and local platforms. This means that the most urgent, nationwide and local problems related to crucial production, social, economic, ecological, everyday life, political, and personnel issues should be determined. In addition to this, we should strive to guarantee optimal coordination between nationwide slogans and problems, and issues related to specific towns, villages, areas, enterprises, and social groups.

All these things are very important. However, we should not underestimate details that seem to be "purely technical" at first glance. Such details are of tremendous importance. It is often in this sphere, precisely, that a radical change in our way of thinking will be most urgently required and that our innovative spirit will be called for. It is, precisely, in this situation that we should manifest our courage by adopting unusual measures and trying not to interfere with independent and original initiatives of the collectives during the election campaign.

A careful timing of the campaign within the party organizations and outside them is called for in view of gradually accelerating the pace of the campaign so that the major mass events should take place within the last two, or three weeks preceding the elections.

The activities of the mass media—nationwide and on a local scale—are very important in connection with the election campaign. In several towns, the local press is not affiliated with the party. Party organizations in the editorial boards of certain local papers were even disbanded. A real danger exists that, under the conditions of the election struggle, our municipal party organizations might be deprived of their press organs as election tribunes. The question emerges again how we should use the time made available to us in central and local radio and television programs and what materials we should publish in the newspapers. The question is: Will we succeed in expressing the party views through the personalities and names of our candidates?

Not only through the mass media, but also through leaflets, posters, brochures, and other similar printed matter should we propagate facts and data on our candidates by attracting attention to their human virtues and professional skills and not to their qualifications as

"cadres," in the first place. The candidates should publicly announce their incomes and financial situation at their own initiative, and not under the pressure of the opposition. Comrades who have never violated any laws or abused of their official positions should not be afraid of responding to premeditated provocations. We should strive to make all voters familiar with the names and faces of our candidates, so that they may know everything about them at the moment of the elections.

Comrades, this is a period of utmost political importance. The party's chief task should be to win the forthcoming elections. This is a feasible task as long as we organize a new type of election campaign, a campaign based on a new spirit, a new style, and on new methods based on a solid and convincing election program, on an open-minded and frank dialogue with the people.

The party is perfectly capable of coping with this task and is obliged to accomplish it.

Thank you for your attention.

Antiterrorism Official Notes Attacks

AU1302140090 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI
in Bulgarian 9-10 Feb 90

[Report on interview with Todor Nikov, "former head of the Analysis Department at the Directorate on Struggle Against Terror," by Nikolay Gavrilov, VECHERNI NOVINI reporter; place and date not given: "Death Rapaciously Chases Life"]

[Text] An unexpected blast in the train compartment for mothers and children, and on the same day—9 March 1985—another blast at the coffee shop of "Sliven" Hotel where young people were celebrating and had no idea that within a second, death, which rapaciously chases life, would strike again.

.... You naturally remember those cases. Some seven persons (including two children) died, 23 were injured, and huge material damage was inflicted. This was the sad result of the two terrorist acts.

The wave of terror has its high and low tide throughout the world. Every civilized state has its specific units and formations for combating terrorism. Should we be afraid or rely on those who are struggling for our safety at decisive moments? Those questions concern and trouble me, and I have sought the answers at the Directorate on Struggle Against Terror, which until recently had the "honor" to be a part of the already disbanded and notorious Sixth Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Lieutenant Colonel Todor Nikov, candidate of jurisprudence, who for four years was the head of the Analysis Department of the Directorate on Struggle Against Terror—a word considered redundant and very seldom used during the period of the totalitarian regime in our country.

—During the past 10 years, weapons' and explosives' use on the part of private citizens while committing crimes became a frequent event in Bulgaria. According to the international law and Bulgarian laws, many of those cases were defined as terrorist-subversive acts. Threats with anonymous terror against citizens have increased 16 times in January 1990. Individual Communists, and the leaders of the new parties, organizations, and movements, have been threatened with violence. Really, until 10 November 1989, we did not talk too much about terrorism in Bulgaria. We were forced to stick our head in the sand. The reports in the press were very brief, sporadic, and often intentionally vague and even false. Todor Zhivkov's totalitarian system used to instill by force the sense of superstability in our country. Terrorism is something that develops in the West, they used to say, it does not affect us. This infection will not reach our socialist country, and so forth, and so on. There were various schemes of creating the information blackout that apparently was needed by somebody!

Our conversation was interrupted for a while, because I began to scrutinize the material that was kindly given to me. We go back in years. It would be useful to recall certain things.

—Our unit for the struggle against terror, Nikov continues, is much smaller than similar units in countries that have approximately the same population as Bulgaria and live under similar conditions. We have an operational crew of about 35 persons. Until recently the members of the special motorized militia unit—the so-called "Red Berets"—were a part of our unit. They used to conduct direct actions related to unmasking and neutralizing terrorists and terrorist groups. You understand, of course, that special skills and habits and exceptional professionalism are necessary for such neutralization of terrorists.

For the sake of comparison—the special forces for conducting physical struggle against terror—the so-called "Red Berets"—comprise 150 persons, while in Austria, which has almost the same population, two regiments comprising 1,200 highly qualified persons are struggling against terrorism.

I would like to point out something special. Our operational crew is the basic organizer and the driving force, which in case of difficult investigations is called upon to set in motion the entire engine of our ministry.... Such were the cases of finding the perpetrators of the terror acts in Plovdiv, Varna, Sliven, and Bunovo. Thus, the successes really are the result of the efforts of the entire ministry and its units.

From the material I was given:

—On 9 March 1982 in Burgas, terrorists killed the Turkish diplomat Bora Suelkan. In March 1984 a device intended to kill an employee of the law and order organs exploded in the post office of Gorna

Oryakhovitsa. Two persons were killed, several were injured, and much damage was inflicted.

- Two terrorist acts were committed on 30 August 1984. At a railroad station in Plovdiv, a woman was killed and 25 citizens, among them many children, were injured. Two women were injured in the parking lot of Varna Airport, and many cars were damaged.

Lt. Col. Nikov does not resemble the famous Sherlock Holmes too much. He is an analyst and only seldom must use his gun. According to him, the analytical activity is the "gray matter" of the investigation. I expressed interest concerning the activity of the analysis in the summer of 1987, when three persons from Silistra area kidnapped two children from Tolbukhin in front of "International" Hotel, threw hand grenades in our famous resort, and demanded free passage to Turkey.

—Terrorism, Lt. Col. Nikov says, is by definition a method of political struggle aimed at increasing social tension and destabilizing society. Such was the famous case of the terrorist act in front of the "International" Hotel. The terrorists deliberately selected such a central location—many foreigners and a big crowd—and grenades held over the heads of the children made it very difficult from the very beginning to reject the demands of the terrorists. You asked me what we, the analysts, did. A special operational group arrived at the location of the developments one hour after the terrorist act began. Thus, our physical task force was already there. We in Sofia had to think how to convince the terrorists to negotiate, and thus gain time. It was necessary to establish the identity of the criminals, together with the operational-investigation units learn where they had obtained the hand grenades, and draw a psychological portrait of each terrorist. Our apparatus acted with the speed of light. We immediately established their identity, as well as the identity of the children, and the route they were following. By the end of the second hour, we established with certainty the origin of the explosives. It was a period when soldiers were discharged. We found ourselves in the whirlpool of a complex situation. We had to conduct numerous talks and hundreds of meetings in order to prevent the illegal misappropriation of additional weapons. We assumed with justification that if other persons had taken weapons, explosives, and hand grenades from the same unit at the same time as the terrorists, information about the terrorist act could prompt such persons to perpetrate similar unreasonable acts. One must not only take such a possibility into consideration, but also act to prevent possible "explosive" acts. We had to implement all this in cooperation with the territorial units of the ministry, within an operational period of about 20 hours. We met with success. There were only two casualties—both terrorists.

- Only in 1986, when the service on combating terrorism was created, there were 21 explosions in our country, conducted by criminal or psychologically unstable persons, with the purpose of settling personal conflicts. By the end of October 1987, we received 617

tip-offs about preparations and attempts to conduct acute subversive acts. According to our statistics, 101 of the tip-offs were related to terrorism, 95 to subversion, 104 to theft and illegal possession of weapons, 212 to sabotage, and so forth. Subsequently, it is obvious that there are weapons among the population. This is one of the essential prerequisites of probable terrorism of the worst kind—anonymous terrorism—where in all cases one is forced to seek and find a needle in a haystack....

Actually, my question was related to weapons that have been seized. Let me quote some of the information provided by employees of the Ministry of Internal affairs. During the period of January 1985-July 1986, some 8,940 weapons were seized from or voluntarily turned in by the population, among them: 3,095 firearms (handguns, rifles, automatic rifles, and machine guns!), more than 304,000 rounds of ammunition, 1,238 hand grenades, more than three tons of explosives, and more than 68,000 electric and capsule detonators. The employees of the Ministry of Internal affairs assured me that there is no mistake—the numbers are correct! Furthermore, in order to demonstrate how the totalitarian system used to complacently lie about the tranquility in the country, let me say that two years later, in 1988, when "restructuring" in Bulgaria began to "accelerate," an additional 1,216 weapons were seized from the population. Among them—95 combat rifles and 321 small-caliber, pneumatic, and (please note!), self-made weapons.

From the material I was given:

- In 1985, the preparations of 11 persons from the city of Omurtag to hijack a "Balkan" airplane to Turkey were revealed.
- In 1987, the activity of eight persons from the town of Khlebarovo, related to blowing up a high-tension pole near Ruse was unmasked.
- On 28 December 1987, at the night club of "Rila" Hotel in Borovets a detonator was found on the table of English tourists from the "Balkan Holidays" Company. During the attempt to open the detonator it exploded and injured four of the foreign tourists, without endangering their life. The perpetrator was a mentally ill Bulgarian citizen.
- On 3 August 1988 at about 2145 [1945 GMT], while the "Trakiya" Express was crossing the area of Shiroko Pole railroad station, the train's service crew heard three consecutive explosions. Explosives had been placed on the rails, and they exploded when the train passed over them. It was established that the explosives were placed by students who had stolen them while practicing at the Kovachevo Village stone pit.

We talk about revealing terrorist acts and note the good work of the antiterrorism service on 31 July 1987 at the beach of the "Druzhba" resort, where an explosive was

placed in a milk can by a criminal. Fortunately, it did not explode. According to the experts, the explosion could have claimed the life of many citizens and inflicted material damage to the tune of more than 130,000 leva....

The average time of uncovering such crimes differs from one country to another. In France it is seven years and in Italy—8.5 years. I mean acts of anonymous terrorism. In our country, in most of the cases, this happens within three years. Is that not so, I asked.

—Recently, because of the numerous distortions and mistakes from the time of Zhivkovism, a negative public opinion emerged vis-a-vis the organs of the Ministry of Internal affairs, the courts, and the Chief Prosecutor's Office, Lt. Col. Nikov said. The department in charge of the struggle against terrorism will continue also in the future to protect the safety of every citizen. Our employees are courageous men, loyal to their duty, unblemished Communists and Komsomol members. Those people risk their life many times during the year. The tension is abnormal. Those people are on the road at least 200 days every year.

Recently the number of tip-offs related to international terrorism, drug trafficking and the smuggling of weapons are also increasing. One can assume that whether we want it to or not, this trend will affect our country. The structural changes that now are taking place in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs must make our activity even more efficient. We will conduct an all-out struggle against this great evil and malicious anti-human activity. We shall emerge victorious if we are not alone, and if our public supports us and cooperates with us. We cannot exist without the people's confidence....

A sudden explosion.... Where was it? How many casualties has malicious terrorism claimed this time!

Dimitrov Says SFRY Parliament 'Interfering'

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["Attempt To Interfere in Bulgaria's Internal Affairs"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—There are neither historical, nor legal nor any other grounds to raise the question of a "Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria, Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, stated to the BTA in connection with the address of the Parliament of Yugoslavia to the Bulgarian National Assembly.

According to TANJUG the address says that "the Yugoslav Skupstina sincerely hopes and expects the new

democratic authorities in Bulgaria to create conditions for the expression of the national and cultural identity of the Macedonian minority and to respect all its rights in compliance with international law, the realization of which was hindered by a decision of the Bulgarian authorities."

In his statement the Bulgarian foreign minister underlined that there is no ground to raise the question of "Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria. "This position of Bulgaria is well-known. It is a lasting position of principle, because it ensues from the historical and the present realities. In this light the address can hardly be viewed in any other way but as an attempt to interfere in Bulgaria's internal affairs. It runs contrary to the aspiration to promote good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and strikes a discordant note in the assertion of a common atmosphere of cooperation on the European continent."

Minister Boyko Dimitrov said: "I would like to recall that 'the Macedonian national self-consciousness' has been implanted by administrative pressure not only in Pirin but in Vardar, Macedonia, too. It is self-delusion to consider that it is possible to revert to a similar practice in Bulgaria now." Mr. Dimitrov pointed out that in the conditions of democratization in Bulgaria every citizen is free to express his own will, including on the problem of his ethnical self-consciousness.

The democratization is a good basis for a constructive interaction between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Some negative trends from the past can be overcome on this basis.

UDF Dismisses Allegation

*AU1802190790 Sofia BTA in English
1756 GMT 18 Feb 90*

["No 'Macedonian Question' in Bulgaria, Union of Democratic Forces Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 18 (BTA)—A "Macedonian Question" does not exist in Bulgaria and any attempt to raise it artificially is a gross interference in the country's internal affairs, said Mr Georgi Spasov, spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), in connection with a recent declaration of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly which raised the matter of a "Macedonian minority in Bulgaria".

In a televised statement the UDF spokesman dismissed the allegations of the Yugoslav media that the union "was showing understanding on the matter, unlike the official authorities". "There is not a single organization and not a single person in the Union of Democratic Forces to take a view different from the one I set forth now," Mr Spasov said.

Havel, Delegation Depart on Three-Nation Tour

*LD1702103690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 17 Feb 90*

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, accompanied by his wife, left today for a foreign trip during which he will visit Iceland, Canada and the United States.

Other members of our delegation are Marian Calfa, premier of the federal government; Andrej Barcak, minister of foreign trade; and Vaclav Klaus, minister of finance. Vladimir Dlouhy, deputy premier of the federal government, and Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs, will join the delegation in Canada.

U.S. Ambassador Shirley Temple-Black left Prague today together with Vaclav Havel.

Discusses Issues in Reykjavik

*AU2002125790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
19 Feb 90 pp 1,4*

[Jiri Majstr report: "From the Land of Geysers to Canada"]

[Excerpts] Reykjavik—CSSR President Vaclav Havel arrived in Reykjavik 17 February at the start of his visit to Iceland, Canada, and the United States. At Keflavik International Airport, 45 km from Iceland's capital, he and members of his entourage were welcomed by President Vigdis Finnbogadottir and Prime Minister Steingrimur Hermannsson. [passage omitted]

Movement Toward Democracy Is Irreversible

The process of democratization in Central and Eastern Europe is irreversible. The swift agreement reached on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia has contributed to political stability. Vaclav Havel made this statement at a news conference, which was one of the highlights of his one-day visit to Iceland. He also gave a whole number of reasons for his visit to Iceland. "We, who are once again learning democracy and have become interested to a greater extent in the country with the world's oldest parliament. Of course, we who want to significantly reduce the size of our army are interested in a country that has no army at all," said the president in reply to a question put by a CTK reporter.

He declared that in the general background of these highlights is the fact that for the first time in 22 years, he will see his play performed on stage. "This is my personal affair, but it involves a state and political visit," said President Havel. He had been invited to attend the premier of his play Clean Up [Asanace], however, long before he had been invited as President. "I keep my word, whether I am a president or a dissident," he added.

He said that the swift and successful culmination of the talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia will contribute to stabilizing the political situation in our country. "Political stability in our country is always important for political stability throughout Europe as we are situated at its very center," commented V. Havel.

"From everything I know, it is obvious that the Soviet Union wants to gradually withdraw its forces deployed in other countries. The timetable for this withdrawal, of course, depends on the Soviet Union, on its possibilities, and on the international context of such a process."

"I am not a clairvoyant. I do not know what will happen in two years," he said in reply to a question on future development in Central and Eastern Europe. "One thing is certain—development in these countries toward democracy is irreversible," he emphasized.

"I do not know," was his reply to a question on whether, after the free elections, he will again be a candidate for the post of president. He pointed out that this does not depend on him, since only the other political forces can nominate him. "It is up to me to accept the nomination or not," he added.

As far as his personal artistic plans are concerned, he said that he will definitely not write a play about his term in office as president. However, it is possible that certain current events may appear in some of his future plays. If he were to return to the theater, he would not like to lead a large ensemble but a small, avant-garde group.

In reply to the question why there are still Communists in the state apparatus in Czechoslovakia, he said that it is neither his policy nor the government's policy to avoid Communists. "Everyone may build democracy in Czechoslovakia and everyone has this opportunity regardless of the fact that he was in the Communist Party or is in it," said the president.

As far as current Czechoslovak-Icelandic relations are concerned, he stressed that his visit has deeper motives than a mere theater performance. Iceland is geographically a distant part of Europe, but spiritually and politically it is very close to it. Czechoslovakia, on the contrary, is geographically right in the center of Europe, but—at the moment—has very far to go to get there. There is something symbolic, then, in exchanging experiences with Iceland. Besides this, small countries have an increased understanding of their own problems, said President Havel at the news conference. [passage omitted]

Arrives in Canada

*LD1802192990 Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT
18 Feb 90*

[Text] Ottawa Feb 18 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and his wife arrived here today for a visit to Canada, the first state visit to this country by a Czechoslovak president.

He was welcomed at the airport by Canadian Governor General Ramon John Hnatyshyn with his wife, Minister of National Revenue Otto John Jelinek, Ottawa Mayor James Durrell and other officials.

The president's entourage is made up of Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Deputy Premier Vladimir Dlouhy and others.

Delegation Opens Talks

*LD1802235890 Prague CTK in English 2120 GMT
18 Feb 90*

[Text] Ottawa Feb 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel held the first meeting with Czechoslovak expatriates during his current visit to Canada and the United States in the Ottawa suburb of Nepean today.

Shortly after arrival, members of the president's entourage opened talks with Canadian representatives. Premier Marian Calfa and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier conferred with Speaker of the House of Commons John Fraser. Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vladimir Dlouhy, Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus and President of the State Bank Josef Tosovsky held talks with Finance Minister Michael Wilson and, together with Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak attended a round-table discussion held by leading Canadian entrepreneur Andrew Sarlos. Andrej Barcak also conferred with Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion, for Science and Technology Harvie Andre. Jiri Dienstbier met with External Affairs Minister Joseph Clark.

Holds Ottawa News Conference

*LD1902054290 Prague CTK in English 0222 GMT
19 Feb 90*

[Text] Ottawa Feb 19 (CTK correspondent)—We will have talks in Canada about mutually advantageous cooperation, especially in the intellectual sphere, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told a press conference in Ottawa today.

Economic discussions are not the only purpose of the visit, we came because we have many friends here, because many people of Czech and Slovak origin live here. We want to explain to Canadian representatives what happened in our country, and want to hear their views on the developments in our country and in Europe.

We will work to cope with the process of transition to a well-functioning economy in Czechoslovakia without shocks. We need from Canada and other Western partners especially understanding and support which would make this process possible, Vaclav Havel said.

Many questions concerned Czechoslovakia's stand on the German issue. Vaclav Havel pointed out that Germany's reunification must take place against the background of a new order in Europe which would involve

the creation of a new security system. We do not understand the desire of the Germans for unification as a complication but rather as a motor which can accelerate this process.

Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, who was present during one part of the conference, added that the agreement on the German question achieved in Ottawa last week is regarded by Czechoslovakia as a first step which should be followed by others, including the Helsinki process.

Commenting on relations with Poland and Hungary the president noted that during his recent visits to these countries he had talks on the coordination of their return to Europe. These talks will continue but for the time being we speak about coordination, not confederation.

All media coverage of the visit, including Canadian television reports on prime viewing time, appreciate the quick-witted answers and quips of the president. In one such remark he said that Czechoslovakia was discovering the American continent in the footsteps of the vikings—via Iceland, referring to his brief visit there on his way to Canada. Asked about a possible connection of his tour with elections in Czechoslovakia he said: I hope they will not take place while I am here and I will not miss them.

Comments on Germany, Poland

*LD1902101290 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 0600 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] Good morning, I think we can agree that both as journalists and citizens of our homeland, we are most of all interested in the reports surrounding the transoceanic trip of President Vaclav Havel and his entourage. Following their reports from Iceland, world agencies focused their attention on Canada. Jiri Vejvoda reports from Ottawa:

[Vejvoda] A great enthusiasm for Czechoslovakia exists abroad, an enthusiasm which must not be wasted. All of us here in Canada will try to help you. This was one of the key ideas of the meeting between our countrymen and Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in the overcrowded city hall of the Canadian capital, Ottawa. Its participants—the Czech Canadians of all generations—virtually showered our president with their questions. Vaclav Havel's press conference for foreign journalists then followed. Next came successive meetings with political personalities, including a meeting with Brian Mulroney. [passage omitted]

The question frequently repeated by local journalists, was the German question, on which Vaclav Havel noted: The unification of Germany, which, in my view will sooner or later definitely take place, should not be an obstacle. On the contrary, it should be a motor used for striving toward the main objective—the unification of Europe.

To this [Foreign Minister] Jiri Dienstbier, in connection with the subject of Poland's western borders, responded,

saying that according to him the question marks should be resolved after being recognized by those West German political circles which are still hesitating to make this gesture before the elections. He added that in Europe we should not endlessly carry out border disputes. On the contrary, we should speak about a continent in which borders no longer have any purpose. [passage omitted]

Meets Canadian Political Figures

LD1902101790 Prague CTK in English 0735 GMT
19 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa Feb 19 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel met here with prominent personalities of the Canadian political life on Sunday, the first day of his visit to Canada, among them former premier Pierre Trudeau, opposition leader Herg Grey and leader of the New Democratic Party Audrey McLaughlin.

Governor-General John Hnatyshyn gave a banquet in honour of the Czechoslovak president Sunday evening.

President Havel also granted an interview to the Canadian CBC Television station in which he repeatedly stressed that in restoring democracy Czechoslovakia does not intend to copy foreign examples, which, however, does not mean that it will not learn from foreign experience.

Asked where Czechoslovakia intends to gain the huge sums of money needed for its ecological program if the government opposes foreign loans, the president said that the only way to solve this problem is more intensive and better work.

President Havel also met yesterday with Czechs and Slovaks living in Canada who gave him an enthusiastic welcome and used the opportunity to ask him about the latest developments in Czechoslovakia, his intentions concerning the position of individual peoples and national minorities in Czechoslovakia, and the possibilities of investments in their former homeland.

President Havel will end his stay in Ottawa today and leave for Toronto where mostly economic talks will take place. The president also announced he would meet with Czechoslovak expatriates in Toronto and deliver a speech addressed to all Czechs and Slovaks living abroad.

Calls for 'Cooperation' With Expatriates

LD2002073190 Prague CTK in English 0635 GMT
20 Feb 90

[Text] Toronto, Feb 20 (CTK Correspondent)—An appeal for a new organization of relations within the Czechoslovak federation and for the establishment of fruitful cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Czechs and Slovaks living abroad were the main points

in Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's speech delivered at Toronto University Monday afternoon [19 February], on the last day of his official visit to Canada.

The president stressed that the Czechs and Slovaks living abroad must be allowed to freely visit their former homeland and live there if they wish so. He also stated that they will have the right to choose whether to retain their Czechoslovak citizenship, ask for that of their new country or have both, if possible.

The current numerous changes in Czechoslovakia include a new concept of the federation, the president said and added that this will also require changes in the approach of people to the federation.

The last point on the program of President Havel's visit to Toronto was a short visit paid to Czech publisher Josef Skvorecky in the 68 Publishers Publishing House.

Finance, Trade Ministers Meet Businessmen

LD1902102190 Prague CTK in English 0738 GMT
19 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa Feb 19 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak economic delegation accompanying President Vaclav Havel on his journey to Canada and the USA held talks with prominent Canadian businessmen here Sunday.

Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Valdimir Dlouhy, Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus and Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak met with representatives of the recently founded Society for the Development of Central Europe, and of other Canadian firms, including Tomas Lata.

These round table talks were used by Canadian businessmen especially for gaining detailed information about the planned legislative measures and other conditions guaranteeing Czechoslovakia's transition to market economy.

The Canadian businessmen praised the open and detailed information provided by the Czechoslovak side and promised their support for Czechoslovak intentions. The above mentioned Society for the Development of Central Europe has pledged not to export its profit for the first five years in case of starting to invest in Czechoslovakia, but to re-invest it again in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa will hold talks with industrialists in Montreal today and meet the premier of the Quebec Government. Ministers Klaus and Barcak will leave for Toronto to meet their trade partners there.

Canada Visit Termed 'Successful'

LD2002072890 Prague CTK in English 0715 GMT
20 Feb 90

[Text] Toronto Feb 20 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has characterized his two-day visit to Canada as successful.

Speaking to CTK, the Voice of America radio station and Czechoslovak radio aboard his plane on the way from Toronto to Washington last night, the president said that the Canadian side had submitted some broad-minded offers during the talks but did not specify them.

Asked whether his American tour is linked to the forthcoming free elections in Czechoslovakia, which he pledged to guarantee by his work in the office of president, Vaclav Havel said that this link is only indirect. A foreign visit can contribute to certain stabilization in the international context, to gaining knowledge and broadening the horizons, e.g. in debates about election laws, he said.

Havel Interviewed on Role of Presidential Power

*LD1802225390 Prague CTK in English 2152 GMT
18 Feb 90*

[Text] Paris Feb 18 (CTK)—French television Antenne 2 broadcast this evening a 50-minute interview with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel made in his Prague home.

Vaclav Havel said that in his opinion the presidential powers need not be strengthened in Czechoslovakia. He underscored the role and importance of the government and other constitutional bodies and stressed he would not like to make the impression that he ruled alone.

Commenting on economic issues, namely the transition to market economy, Vaclav Havel said that Czechoslovakia would do its best to avoid mass unemployment and strengthen the social guarantees. It "seeks to be a normally prosperous country which could compare to Austria and other neighbours".

Asked if he was not afraid of Germany's reunification the president said it was not decisive how large the population of a country was but if it was democratic or totalitarian. Everything depends on the character of the country. No one needs to fear a democratic country.

He added that he could not imagine a reunified Germany in a divided Europe nor a unified Europe with a divided Germany.

Planning for Soviet Troop Withdrawal Continues

First Withdrawal Outlined

*LD1602200290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Summary] The first area from which Soviet military units are to be withdrawn is the Bruntal district. Pavel Smid, our correspondent, reports that the first round of the now official negotiations took place today in Krnov. According to Jaroslav Vrzal, chairman of the city national committee, the actual deadline for starting the withdrawal is 26 February. The withdrawal should end by 30 March. By then 197 apartments should be freed for the local population, following the necessary alterations.

Barracks will also serve civilian purposes, in view of the decision of our Ministry of National Defense that there will be no military garrison in this city of 26,000. The extensive shooting range and tank training area on the outskirts of Krnov will be recultivated and handed over to farmers.

Similar talks were under way today also in Bruntal, the headquarters of a Soviet tank division. Commissions of experts and representatives of Civic Initiative are already working in this district town in order to determine by the end of March the overall extent of damage caused by troops during their stay.

In both North Moravian cities state organs are preparing measures to ensure that the departure of Soviet military units will be completed by the end of the month without any disturbing effects—for instance, without excessive buying of goods in our shops.

Minister Comments on Economic Effects

*LD1602163990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1430 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak today briefed members of the foreign committees of the two Federal Assembly chambers on the directions of our foreign trade activity this year. As he said, the ratio of goods exported should change in favor of countries with freely exchangeable currencies, taking into account the increasing participation of foreign capital. Foreign trade enterprises will be preserved but will not have a monopoly and this will change the conditions of their work.

In reply to a question from Deputy Michael Kacab on how the withdrawal of Soviet troops will affect our foreign trade, Andrej Barcak said that if this should happen by the end of this year, almost one-third of exports to the Soviet Union would not be realized because of shortage of freight cars. He also said that according to valid treaties, the Soviet side must restore to its original state all that which soldiers have damaged. He also noted the fact that the Soviet Union has paid Czechoslovakia for a number of apartments for Soviet soldiers.

When Andrej Barcak spoke about the increasing activity of foreign firms on our territory, he also warned that together with reputable firms, businessmen with bad reputations have come to Czechoslovakia and thus it is necessary to check who we are doing business with.

Tremosna Radar Station Vacated

*LD1902185390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] The handing over of the compound at Tremosna near Plzen which, up to now has served the Soviet troops manning radar equipment, began today. In the course of the next few days the Soviet troops should transfer themselves and their equipment to Neratovice and from

there back to the Soviet Union, depending on transport facilities. The whole compound at Tremosna consists of three low level buildings, one shed, and one unfinished housing unit with 12 one-bedroom apartments. A CTK reporter wanted to capture the Soviet troop withdrawal on film. The Soviet officers at first stipulated that he should not film military equipment. When, however, he began filming the loading of furniture and other personal belongings of the Soviet citizens, he was asked to destroy the film. In an attempt to prevent any trouble, Jiri Berger, the reporter, opened up the camera and destroyed all documentary evidence.

Local Official Reviews Talks

*LD1902214190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] What is the latest information about the withdrawal of Soviet units from Trutnov? Vlastimil Prouza, deputy chairman of the District National Committee in Trutnov, gives an answer to this topical question.

[Prouza] Our present information is that the withdrawal of a section of Soviet units from our town will take place in the second half of the current year. This information has been given to us by the Soviet side. We have not as yet any information from our authorities. We, however, held joint talks at the end of January with representatives of the Soviet garrison and the command of the central group of Soviet troops in Milovice regarding the clearing and tidying of the land and area previously used for exercises, so that when they leave we would not have to tackle things which Soviets can do now.

These talks are attended by representatives of national committees in areas used by the Soviet side, representatives of Civic Forum, representatives of parties, including the newly established Green Party. At the talks commissions were set up for individual localities. They have already carried out their own inspections and have an accurate knowledge about what is needed to be done.

New Envoy to USSR Seeks 'Equal' Relationship

*LD1902142190 Prague CTK in English 1340 GMT
19 Feb 90*

[Text] Prague Feb 19 (CTK)—"I am leaving for the Soviet Union with the conviction that our country has always been and will be also in the future interested in the best possible ties with the Soviet Union, regardless of how these contacts were developing in the past," new Czechoslovak ambassador to the Soviet Union Rudolf Slansky told CTK here today.

He stressed that maintaining of the best possible relations with the Soviet Union is the prior task in the present complicated situation. However, the Czechoslovak-Soviet relations must be transferred to a completely equal basis since they have as yet been influenced by the fact that Czechoslovakia has not enjoyed full sovereignty in these relations. This will soon be rectified, which will make it possible to build Czechoslovak-Soviet relations

as ties between two states and not between political parties or power structures, Slansky said and added that the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Czechoslovakia will create preconditions for the normalization of contacts between the two countries.

The ambassador further stated that it will be necessary to review the existing agreements between the two countries and remove from them everything that resulted from the situation in which they were concluded. An important task will also be the transition of economic contacts to a new basis, especially as regards questions of prices and open access of enterprises to the other country's market.

Asked whether the prosecution of his family in the 1950's, backed by Soviet advisors, influenced his relation to the Soviet Union, Rudolf Slansky, whose father fell victim to the political trials of the 1950's, said this problem does not concern his new function. This is a matter to be dealt with mainly by historians and not politicians. "I do not go to the Soviet Union with any prejudices against the Soviet people," Rudolf Slansky, who lived in the Soviet Union with his parents in the 1939-1945 period, stressed.

Adamec Addresses Central Committee Session

*LD1702140490 Prague CTK in English 1250 GMT
17 Feb 90*

[Text] Prague Feb 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Chairman Ladislav Adamec today stressed that the party does not intend to fight for lost privileges but is against wrongdoings done to skilled people with an irreproachable character only because of their membership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Addressing a session of the party Central Committee here today, Ladislav Adamec stressed that the party fully supports the voices demanding that changes be done according to valid regulations, that people be considered according to their skills and not according to their political affiliation and that executives be given necessary certainty for work. "We do not want anything more but anything less than equal rights and conditions for work as the others", Ladislav Adamec stressed.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party will defend all good that was done in the past but wants and must dissociate itself politically and ideologically from previous deformities. To stake on demagoguery and calculate on stirring up emotions would only lead to a rise in political tension and social conflicts, Ladislav Adamec stressed.

Besides the analysis of the present political situation and setting forth further steps of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the participants in today's session also deal with a report of the commission for evaluating political responsibility of former top party representatives in the previous period, preparations for the constituent congress of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and principles of the party electoral program.

Ladislav Adamec informed the participants that 20 to 30 percent of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's 1.7 million members left its ranks after November 17, 1989. As the transfer of members from workplaces to their places of residence has not yet finished, many Communists have not apparently entered new organizations. In January, 1,159 new members have been accepted in the Czech Socialist Republic, mostly from the ranks of alternate members.

Speaking about the establishment of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia as part of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Ladislav Adamec said that this idea meets with understanding and support among the majority of members. The constituent congress of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia will take place at the end of March.

Ladislav Adamec proposed to hold the regular 18th Czechoslovak Communist Party congress after the elections.

As regards the preparations for the elections, he said that according to the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the elections should be based on the principle of proportional representation and the pre-election campaign should be waged decently, while respecting democratic rules. That is why the Czechoslovak Communist Party proposes to sign an agreement at the round table.

Session Expels Husak, Strougal, Others

LD1702210390 Prague CTK in English 1952 GMT
17 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 17 (CTK)—Gustav Husak, Lubomir Strougal and other former leading officials of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] were expelled from its ranks by the Party Central Committee here today.

Expelled from the party besides Gustav Husak and Lubomir Strougal, were another 20 officials, including Mikulas Beno, Petr Colotka, Jan Fojtik, Josef Havlin, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Antonin Kapek, Marie Kabrhelova, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Zavadil and others.

These functionaries are responsible for wrong political decisions that they took at top party functions. They participated in pursuing the undemocratic directive system of management that stage by stage paralysed the internal life of the party and its capability to tackle effectively the questions of the development of society and helped estrange the people from the party. They are also responsible for the inconsistent implementation of the adopted program of restructuring. With their activity, they contributed to the situation when the ideas of socialism are quite discredited in a considerable part of the population.

While considering political responsibility of Gustav Husak, the Party Central Committee stated that he had undeniable merits but with respect to his comprehensive

responsibility for the political development, mainly in the past ten years, he is expelled from the party ranks.

Proceedings in Case Involving Strougal Halted

AU1602110290 Prague PRACE in Czech 13 Feb 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Once Again on the 'Barak' Case"]

[Text] Prague— The Prague city prosecutor decided that the penal charges that had been lodged regarding crimes committed against detainees and prisoners in the case of Rudolf Barak and companions are to go into abeyance in accordance with Article 159/1 of the Criminal Code because the crimes come under the statute of limitations.

The charges were lodged with the City Prosecutor's Office in Prague on 15 January this year by Doctor Jiri Ondracek, one of the persons accused in this criminal matter, a close collaborator of R. Barak, former minister of the interior. The charges were brought against unknown offenders from the ranks of interrogators and the personnel of the Ruzyně airport, who had used unlawful methods such as the administration by force of injections and medication having the effect of narcotic drugs designed to break the interrogated persons' will while appealing to their instinct of self-preservation. At the same time, the names of several people were mentioned who, by virtue of the position occupied by them at that time, were responsible for the trial and its course (the trial took place in 1962) and who, in subsequent years were subject to parliamentary immunity. [This list included Ex-Premier Lubomir Strougal, minister of interior at the time of the trial]

The city prosecutor's decision is in full harmony with valid legal regulations. The awaited change in legal regulations concerning the statute of limitations, involving an extension of the period of limitations by the period in which the incriminated persons were protected by parliamentary immunity, has not been carried out as yet.

Economist Warns Against Klaus' Economic Policy

AU1602121090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
14 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Professor Engineer Milan Matejka, doctor of sciences, Economics College Prague: "The Shadows of a Budget Surplus; Reaction to CSSR Minister of Finance V. Klaus' Interview in MLADA FRONTA"]

[Excerpts] On 7 February, MLADA FRONTA was another information medium in which V. Klaus, minister of finance, set out his main economic plans. We have learned from all his interviews that his aim is a budget surplus, to be achieved by a restriction of state expenditures, and a stable price level. [passage omitted]

In fiscal (tax and budget) policy, the reduction of state expenditures (or, alternatively, increase in tax rates) and the orientation toward a surplus in the stage budget represents the basic weapon against inflation. A rise in

state expenditures or a reduction in tax rates (even at the expense of a budget deficit), on the other hand, stimulates production growth. Minister Klaus evidently gives priority to the first option, ignoring the other—possibly because "inflation is his theme of life," as he explicitly said in *MLADA FRONTA*.

Despite its grievous nature, however, the problem of inflation does not always have to be the main problem. If we concentrate at an inappropriate time and in a one-sided way on combatting inflation at the expense of growth, we may regret the result. Instead of achieving the planned surplus in the state budget and stable prices we may actually end up with a huge budget deficit and unrestrained inflation. Drastic restrictions of state budget expenditures might lead to an unexpectedly negative development of production and, consequently, of state budget revenues from taxes. [passage omitted]

An austere economic policy is particularly dangerous at times of economic stagnation and recession when it can result in the rapid onset of a deep crisis, as happened in the thirties.

Czechoslovakia's economic growth has been extremely unsatisfactory in recent years. If we were to assess our economic results in the light of value criteria, we would have to speak about stagnation or even recession. [passage omitted]

This is why, in my opinion, in the present situation it is necessary to pursue, first of all, an economic policy that would stimulate economic growth. [passage omitted] The internal economic-political situation and the external circumstances are not favorable for economic growth from the short-term point of view. Fiscal policy (and the other elements of economic policy) should work against this temporarily unfavorable situation rather than aggravate it.

A particularly cautious course of action needs to be taken in the sphere of subsidies. In Czechoslovakia subsidies granted to production enterprises frequently only compensate for the unwarranted price discrimination of certain products. [passage omitted]

If we eliminate or limit today the excessively high subsidies paid to enterprises manufacturing products whose prices are not lucrative for them, the mistakes of our price-setting will make themselves fully felt. Not only individual manufacturers will be affected but also their customers, who—given the existence of monopolies in the domestic conditions and the fact that the koruna is not convertible—are not able to turn to different manufacturers. There will be a shortage of consumer goods and problems in supplying health care and others sectors of the nonproduction sphere will intensify. [passage omitted] The whole chain of supplier-user relations, the state of which is exceptionally bad already, will be disrupted.

Extremely problematic from the viewpoint of economic growth is also the across-the-board cut in investment

subsidies. [passage omitted] After all, one cannot give precedence to short-term budget considerations over long-term economic consequences. The completion of the projects currently under construction is extremely important at present. This is also important from the viewpoint of overall employment.

The nonsystemic [nesystemova] financial measures being applied since the beginning of this year, the changes in exchange rates, and the activation of customs duties without corresponding changes in the sphere of prices have already generated serious disruptions in the national economy, the ultimate consequences of which are hard to foresee at present. Let us therefore beware of further nonsystemic and poorly devised steps, lest the functioning of the economy be completely paralyzed and a drastic decline in production be triggered.

Such a situation would also lead to an unpredictable and unrestrained inflation because a substantial part of cash earnings is either completely independent of the production volume or, at the very least, does not fall in proportion to the declining production volume. Even in a market economy, the resulting discrepancy between the development of earnings and the development of production necessarily results in the growth of prices.

Let me sum up: Czechoslovakia's present economic situation requires the application of a pro-growth economic and, by the same token, fiscal policy. [passage omitted] A restrictive budget policy should be taken up in a more favorable development phase of the national economy. [passage omitted] If we increase economic decline now, by means of fiscal policy, we will bring about a drop in the standard of living and people's loss of faith in the future, will not be able to tackle the burdensome problem of foreign debt, and—as has already been said—will not even achieve the main targets which the proclaimed budget policy pursues. [passage omitted]

Klaus Dismisses Criticism

*AU1902210890 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
16 Feb 90 pp 1, 2*

[Statement by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus on Professor Milan Matejka's *MLADA FRONTA* article of 14 February on his fiscal and economic policies: "The Shadows of a Dead Doctrine"]

[Text] One would be tempted to think that the club of the friends of the Keynesian policy of inflation (an economic theory justifying state interference in the economy—editor's note) had been deprived of all its members long ago, that they have either retired or, humiliated, are cowering somewhere in the corner. Yet, lo and behold, Professor Matejka once again recommends generous expenditures of the state budget to stimulate economic growth. It would be wonderful if the period of the flourishing of this doctrine were to return, but only because all of us would be 30 years younger than we are. From all other viewpoints it would be a sheer catastrophe. I almost hesitate to explain, lest I offend

someone, that a growth of state expenditures and a budget deficit in our economy with its extremely fragile macroeconomic stability, which is easily disrupted by the many imbalances on the markets for various products, would inevitably aggravate rapidly all these imbalances and create many new ones. It is as if someone was recommending adding fuel to an already overheated cauldron. The cauldron would get back into balance, but only after bursting and cooling off again.

Our new state budget aims to be not only antiinflationary but it also wants to start pushing the economy towards market principles—that is, it aims to be a budget of transformation. Quite deliberately and in a cruel way, it intends to lay bare weak spots in the economy, mercilessly cut them off, and force people to go work where they are really needed and where they will depend on what they actually earn and not on what they will get from No. 1 Letenska Street in the Little Quarter (the seat of the CSSR Ministry of Finance—editor's note). There is no need to doubt that there is plenty of work everywhere and that there will be even more of it once the gates to various forms of enterprise are opened in the spring. In the conditions of a liberal monetary policy, caused precisely by deficit spending and a squandering state budget, there are those able to live a contented life, not pulling their own weight, and whose role in the economy is to be the ball and chain on the others' legs. If, for a certain period of time, the economy does not grow because, thanks to a restrictive policy, we manage to pinpoint and eliminate the areas which certainly should not grow and whose going out of business will be nothing but a blessing for everyone, this should not be a reason for professors to worry but to rejoice at the fact that, finally, we have put an end to the swelling growth of parasitic structures that had been nourished precisely by the state budget in the past. If there is something of which I am afraid, it is that we will not manage to make the state budget restrictive and be forced to back away from this intention due to the pressure applied by the victims [of a restrictive state budget].

Commission Studies Prelude to 1968 Intervention

*LD1602153590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1200 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Documents about the invitation of intervening forces in August 1968 do exist and are outside our territory. We shall, however, ask for them to be handed to us. This information was heard today at a press conference with representatives of the Czechoslovak Government commission for the analysis of historical events of the 1967-70 period.

As Deputy Premier Frantisek Reichel said, the work of the commission is of topical importance at present, especially when we are striving for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory. The truthful explanation of historical connections can contribute to the simplification of talks on this issue. Representatives of

the commission hope to extend their activities also to individual regions of our republic because materials of historical value may be found there too.

Education Minister Deplores Vetting of Teachers

*LD1402235790 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1600 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Ladislav Kovac, minister of education, youth, and sport, has sent a letter to the university rectors, faculty deans, department heads, and directors of basic and secondary schools in Slovakia. In the letter he drew attention to the tragic farce of the vetting of teachers for their attitude toward the entry of foreign interventionist armies into our country. Those who disapproved were harshly penalized and dismissed from the education sector. He stressed in the letter that there were people who, owing to their lack of principles and concern for their own careers, did not hesitate to become members of the vetting commissions, and after the vetting procedures they became privileged and untouchable. They bore great responsibility for the economic and spiritual decline of our country.

In the letter, Ladislav Kovac asks that education staff who were members of the vetting commissions in 1970 should not be allowed to occupy any senior posts in the education system, and that they should not be members of selection commissions.

Assembly Committees Pass Gun Control Amendment

*LD1502100890 Prague CTK in English 2153 GMT
14 Feb 90*

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—The military and security committees of the two chambers of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly approved here Wednesday an amendment to the law on arms and ammunition limiting the number of gun holders and setting new regulations for obtaining the gun licence.

"I have never thought that Czechoslovakia is so 'over-armed.' Some 13,000 rifles have been given in in Bohemia and at least 5,000 in Slovakia on the basis of a ministerial order", Czechoslovak First Deputy Minister of the Interior Ivan Prusa said here Wednesday.

"We have found out that some of the Czechoslovak and foreign armed troops have dealt in arms. Anyone could have bought a tommy gun for four thousand crowns, and a rifle for five hundred in a pub", Ivan Prusa said.

Ivan Prusa informed the deputies of a new concept of the state security policy.

Speaking about criminal offences committee by the prisoners released under amnesty, he said that 346 criminal offences and 40 misdemeanours have been ascribed to more than 23,000 released prisoners. Public concerns have not been confirmed to the full, but the overall trend of criminality is rising, Ivan Prusa said.

Havel Offers Amnesty in Exchange for Weapons

*LD1602201990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] According to a constitutional law, President Vaclav Havel has decided to declare amnesty in the interests of strengthening guarantees for democracy, public peace, and order. He has ordered that criminal proceedings should not be opened—and if they have been opened, they should be stopped—and there should be no misdemeanor proceedings against persons who, without permission, acquired or own weapons of destruction or components indispensable for the use of such weapons; or who have accumulated weapons, ammunition or explosives and thus committed a crime of unlawfully carrying arms; or who have, without permission, manufactured, acquired, or possess deadly weapons, having thus committed a misdemeanor. The amnesty applies to all such persons, as long as they themselves voluntarily hand over such weapons, components, ammunition, or explosives or will do so by 1 March this year, the president says.

Reorganization To Reduce Television Job Force

*LD1902182390 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT
19 Feb 90*

[Text] Prague Feb 19 (CTK)—It has been well known for many years that the structure of Czechoslovak television is bureaucratized and not effective, General Director of Czechoslovak Television Jindrich Fairaizl told CTK here today.

The selection of leading cadres of this mass communication medium had been directed by principles conditioned by unambiguous consent and identification with the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Especially in the 'Television News' department any participation in work was motivated by this and all functions were directly in the Communist Party nomenclature. In the course of the past month it has been confirmed several times that many of these people—despite their present subjective effort at complying with the demands—have specific practices and ways of thinking, and their work is beginning to be at variance with the mission of the television, Jindrich Fairaizl underlined.

It has been agreed during discussions with Premier Marian Calfa that the current number of employees (some 10,000) will be reduced by one-fifth, i.e. about 1,200 workers from the Prague, Ostrava and Brno studios and some 800 from Slovakia. These measures have been enforced by the intentions of reorganization declared already on January 20, by a fundamental change in the concept of work and also by insufficient finances for the production of programs and wages for this year.

The whole process of reorganization will be carried out in two stages. Those who do not comply with personal

and moral demands, who do not have required qualifications or are not willing to work with full load will have to leave in the first stage. The first dozens of people will be given notice already by the end of February. Further workers will be dismissed due to redundancy or changes in the organizational structure of Czechoslovak Television, General Director of Czechoslovak Television Jindrich Fairaizl stressed, adding that during the reorganization the leadership of Czechoslovak Television will closely cooperate with the new trade union organization which will express its opinions on all individual cases.

Joint Assembly Session To Convene 27-28 Feb

*AU1602151290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slov
15 Feb 90 p 1*

[CTK report: "A Joint Meeting of the Federal Assembly Chambers"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday the Presidiums of both CSSR Federal Assembly chambers decided to convene a joint session of the chambers on 27 and 28 February 1990 and to include on the agenda a CSSR Government report on the fulfillment of its policy statement. Later the election of deputies to the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations will take place and a draft Constitutional law on ending terms of office in representative bodies and a draft law on elections to the Federal Assembly will be discussed. Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, spoke with Marian Calfa, CSSR premier, about his delivering a report to the joint session of the chambers on the fulfillment of the policy statement, on the sociopolitical situation, and on the CSSR government's specific tasks for the future.

Slovak Government Meets, Supports Name Change

*LD1502142390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1900 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] The Slovak Socialist Republic Government met in Bratislava today and approved the policy for implementing its program statement of 19 December 1989. [passage omitted] On the basis of the appropriate new law of the Slovak National Council, the government granted an amnesty in the case of misdemeanours in the competence of the organs of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

It also agreed with the draft constitutional bill on changing the name of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to The Republic of Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

PAV's Budaj on Slovak Press Circulation

*LD1502143190 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] A regular news conference of representatives of the Public Against Violence [PAV] movement which was addressed by Jan Budaj, chairman of the Slovak PAV

Council took place in Bratislava today. He reported on the talks with Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] representatives about political ownership of the press and about newsprint allocation, which is in short supply. We have recorded a section from his address.

[Begin Budaj recording] According to the government's decision taken in the presence of representatives of the Slovak National Council, it has been recommended that these decisions be left to political forces and to political parties. (The point is) that three months after the revolution, the day before yesterday the CPSI has given up its political control of regional dailies. I think that this took a very long time. This means that HLAS LUDU, SMER, and VYCHODOSLOVENSKÉ NOVINY, which is now called VYCHOD, as well as Kosice and Bratislava VECERNIK, have been rid of their political publisher, the Communist Party. The discussion concerning Communist Party weeklies goes on. No agreement has been reached on the issue of newsprint allocation, because the Communist Party and its representatives maintain that they wish to retain the present large circulation of PRAVDA. Nowadays circulation is already above 400,000 copies, some days it is as much as 450,000. PRAVDA has been increasing its circulation since the revolution. Just for your information: PRACA's circulation is above 200,000 copies and the circulation of VEREJNOST is 220,000, published twice a week only, without the possibility of being distributed by the postal services.

At least 50 percent of the Slovak population living in the countryside is unable to subscribe to VEREJNOST and the fact that the newspaper delivery service does not exist in the countryside means that the villages can only get the political daily of the Communist Party. [end recording]

Six Political Parties Register in Slovakia

LD1402223790 Prague CTK in English 1457 GMT
14 Feb 90

[Text] Bratislava Feb 14 (CTK)—Six of the 20 political parties and movements, set up in Slovakia over the past two months, have been registered since the law on political parties became valid on January 23, 1990.

Among those registered are: The Greens Party in Slovakia, working for a healthy environment, the Social Democratic Party, which supports ideas of the European social democracy and wants executive power to be exercised by the governments of the national republics with the exception of the finances, defence and foreign policy, the Party of Democratic Socialism, pursuing generally valid ethical values such as freedom, democracy, justice and universal solidarity, and the Liberal Democratic Party, formed from the opposition Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative. It is open to all believers as well as atheists and supports private farming and values of world, European and national culture ensuring from Christianity and non-Catholic social movements. The party of Rom integration is a political party associating Gypsies. Its main task is to help them settle their problems in all spheres of life together with the other parties and state bodies. Through the enactment of the Rom nationality it wants to contribute with its political work towards a speedier assimilation of this ethnic group.

The Public Against Violence, the sister initiative of the Civic Forum in Bohemia and Moravia which was formed in response to the November 17, 1989 events in Prague, wants to act as a social movement, as a body of civic self-defence and to shape the platform of democratic discussion.

Ministry Says NATO Expansion 'Unrealistic'

LD2002101190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0924 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Both the expansion of NATO's sphere of responsibility up to the Oder-Neisse line and the incorporation of the National People's Army (NVA), part of the military potential of the Warsaw Pact, into NATO are unrealistic and must be prevented, according to a statement made today by the GDR Ministry of Defense. A concept worked out on behalf of the GDR Government on the growing together of the two German states and on the prospects and development of their armed forces states: Unless this process is bound in the European security structures and linked to a guarantee against the endangering of peace and threats to neighboring peoples, a German federal state (federation) has no historical prospects.

The GDR Ministry of Defense is guided by the fact that in a confederation of the two German states and a further existence of the two blocks, extracting them from their alliances is similarly not a task that offers a realistic solution. Institutionalizing the process of the CSCE and disbanding the alliances is seen as the most important security prerequisite for the German federation. In this framework, some forces of the NVA could keep their place as a component of the future federal army of the German federal state. After the People's Chamber elections, the military of the two German states must deal in joint responsibility with these problems that are so important for the people.

Foreigners To Be Represented at Roundtable

LD1602144690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0952 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers is to meet a demand by the roundtable to appoint a representative for foreigners' interests within the next few days. Anetta Kahane (New Forum) told ADN on behalf of the "foreign citizens' issues" working committee of the main roundtable that the representative is to assume protective and advisory functions for all foreigners living in the GDR with the help of a competent commission.

The appointment is necessary owing to increased uncertainty and fears among foreigners in a situation of growing hostility toward foreigners and an ambiguous legal situation. A statement points out that the working and living conditions of the 90,000 foreign workers are inhuman, of which the GDR population is hardly aware. Discrimination is even aided by some state authorities as the draft "decree on temporary employment of foreign citizens in GDR enterprises," introduced on 12 February by the minister of labor and wages, demonstrates, for example. This paper had to be rejected in principle because its modus operandi was scandalous and reactionary.

The roundtable demands that no one be sent home against his will when contracts expire or the threat of reprisals exists in the home country, the statement says. This also includes the possibility of submitting asylum applications or extending residence permits.

In the case of such problems arising or actual attacks occurring, foreign workers can turn to the police or directly to the "foreign citizens' issues" working group of the roundtable. In this connection, Anetta Kahane noted that those concerned can do something themselves. If someone identifies himself as a representative of a state institution, they should ask him to show his identity card, call witnesses, and, in the case of threatened proceedings such as arrest or searches, demand a relevant official notification.

All groups, citizens, and state organizations that would like to do something against hostility to foreigners are asked to take part in the "Arco Iris" citizens' initiative.

Modrow Discusses FRG Talks at Roundtable

LD1902102690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0848 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Statement by Premier Hans Modrow on the results of his trip to Bonn to the roundtable in Berlin on 19 February]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The meeting concentrated on basic issues of establishing the unity of Germany, especially on crucial issues which must be tackled, negotiated, and clarified between the two German states. My entourage comprised both ministers with portfolio and the eight ministers without portfolio who recently joined the cabinet. Thus, our government of national responsibility had a weighty presence in Bonn, was active in front of a broad international body, and confirmed just how right and necessary it was to set up a government in the GDR. On this broad basis, a discussion with representatives of the Federal Government took place after my private talk with Mr. Kohl. The discussion was also attended by ministers-president of the federal Laender and the governing mayor of Berlin (West).

I can note with satisfaction that in this debate, which comprised a total of 16 discussion papers, the united stance of the GDR Government on essential issues and in all the statements made by the GDR participants was shown.

I should like to thank here emphatically once more those ministers who spoke, as well as and particularly the ministers without portfolio. This united constructive appearance conveyed a lesson for future talks and negotiations, and such a lesson should be observed also by the succeeding government that on 18 March will receive with the elections its legitimation through the People's Chamber.

On 13 and 14 February, following the working meeting, a variety of meetings and talks with leading politicians

and representatives from industry and finance of the Federal Republic took place. Commendably, all the members of my delegation were once again very actively and constructively involved.

These further talks also provided an opportunity to become acquainted with the viewpoints of all kinds of personalities from the Federal Republic and to express anew the opinion of the GDR Government on questions on the agenda.

Here I would also like to state one thing emphatically: The opinions, proposals, and demands presented by the GDR Government representatives in Bonn are completely in accordance with the roundtable positions that were resolved for the Bonn working meeting. They were given to me earlier in writing, and I gave this position paper to the federal chancellor during our introductory talks.

Thus, I would also like to stress that with this all the materials and requests addressed to him personally were handed over, and Federal Chancellor Kohl ensured that your materials, in accordance with our wishes, too, were also given to all the interlocutors on the FRG side, with the result that here—and I would like to emphasize this—the agreement of our appearance was found to be identical with all the problems and questions that were your main concerns.

I would like to speak in detail about this basic position in six points and propose that afterward delegation members also report to supplement your questions. First, for the roundtable and also for me it was a question of stressing the joint national responsibility to the federal chancellor. Mr. Kohl agreed with this. The necessary maximum amount of political responsibility also requires that GDR citizens should not be worried by direct manipulation of opinion from federal chancellery circles. By this I mean the GDR's insolvency that allegedly occurred in the last few days and the People's Chamber election that has allegedly been advanced once again. In Bonn I reprehended this lack of responsibility. However, we did not officially receive an apology or explanation.

On this matter, it must be said that some FRG media and some political forces even now are not contributing to level-headedness and reassurance, which are so necessary for confidence in the future and for honest work. At this point, I would especially like to convey my personal thanks, respect, and esteem to Federal President von Weizsaecker for what he told the international public, too, and especially the GDR citizens, on 18 February.

Second, the GDR representatives clearly endeavored in Bonn to explore with this meeting opportunities for a speedy improvement of the living conditions in the GDR, and in particular to raise again the FRG's solidarity aid for the GDR as already discussed in Dresden. This also corresponds to the roundtable positions.

As you are already aware, ladies and gentlemen, I have not come back from Bonn with a promise for such solidarity aid. However, quite a different tone could be heard in Leipzig as to who will be shown solidarity and who not. But surely at issue is not party politics but national responsibility that all of us ought to raise to a higher level. One FRG daily paper commented on this succinctly and accurately: The question of solidarity remains open.

I can understand the disappointment of many GDR citizens who ask themselves whether they are now no longer brothers and sisters. However, my government can do no more than try and try again. I will not go down on my knees to beg for such solidarity aid. We will see what happens after 18 March.

Third, prior to the meeting the Federal Government signaled to me its intention to achieve a currency union of the two states as quickly as possible. This cannot be done before 18 March. The GDR Government is also, in this respect, in agreement with the roundtable's stances. In addition, constitutionally the government has no right at present to give up currency sovereignty; therefore, I am unable to recommend this to the present People's Chamber. However, I have represented the roundtable's basic position according to which it is necessary to introduce steps already so that a future parliament will be able to decide soon about an economic community between the GDR and FRG and about a common currency. Indeed, no precipitate steps should be taken in this respect since numerous technical questions must be clarified, including important legal questions. I should like to stress that in particular the right of GDR farmers to their agricultural reform land is sacrosanct. It seems that we are also in agreement on that point, ladies and gentlemen.

Thus it was agreed in Bonn, and I count this among the constructive results.

Fourth, our government representatives, in agreement with the roundtable, stressed in the Bonn talks that there is and must be a question of social security for the GDR citizens. On this point we are completely understood. It must also be made clear in public that there must be no loss of savings and no hardship for pensioners, single mothers, and families with many children—just to mention these groups from the many complex problems. Yes, I mean that the future GDR Government should be advised to demand relevant guarantee statements from the Federal Government before there is agreement to monetary and economic union.

Fifth, we made it clear in Bonn that the bringing together of the two states in a treaty-regulated form should take place. Federal Chancellor Kohl expressly stated that for his government there is no question of an annexation [Anschluss] of the GDR. Thus it must also be made clear that we, the citizens of the GDR, despite the mistakes of the past, should enter with our own values the process of growing together and unification. At the international

news conference, I particularly and emphatically expressed my viewpoint and the considerations on this very matter—I believe, both of the roundtable and of the government.

Sixth, the restoration of a German state is and remains linked to the international sphere, that is, in such a way that the interests of all the peoples of Europe, as well as of the Four Powers in particular, have to be protected. The Ottawa conference spoke on this matter, as is well known.

The GDR Government welcomes the agreement for a "four-plus-two" conference. In Bonn and later in Warsaw, I left no doubt that for the GDR the Oder-Neisse border has become inviolable and part of international law. It must remain so for the future German state.

The most important political result of the visit is that now the course is being set by the governments of both German states for the unification of the GDR and the FRG soon as a German federal state. This is of historic significance not only for the Germans in East and West. How the process of German unification and its results fit in to the requirements of European security and future cooperative structures, how the fears and concerns of other states—I am thinking particularly of Poland, but also of the Soviet Union and France—are taken into account, how the problem is settled, and in this way questions and problems linked with the aggression of Hitler Germany and the failure of the Third Reich preserve and retain their clarification under international law, is important for the fate of the whole European continent. All this requires a separate, gradual, treaty-regulated growing together of the two states.

In Bonn there was agreement that German unification must be embedded in the overall European process, and that only peace must emanate from German soil. It is now necessary to act accordingly on both sides, jointly to lay down time frames, forms and procedures of unification, to synchronize them with the CSCE process. Nothing must happen here that proceeds too hastily and can give European peoples a feeling of unease and lack of trust in the Germans.

Irrespective of what can be said and judged about the meeting, I nevertheless consider the working result achieved in Bonn justifiable to the extent that it can help to initiate for the future unification of the two states a development of reason, predictability, social safeguards, and a constructive approach to the clarification of technical questions.

Thus, the government of national responsibility has sought to serve the GDR citizens and to do preliminary work for the period following 18 March.

In this spirit, I wanted not only to brief the roundtable but also to express to you my thanks for your support and for the work done in the government delegation.

Agreement With Modrow

LD1902110390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0920 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The members of the government of national responsibility represented at the roundtable, who as ministers without portfolio took place in the Bonn talks, agreed today with the premier's assessment of the working visit to the FRG.

After Premier Hans Modrow made his statement, Minister Mathias Platzeck (Green Party) demanded the rapid removal of "certain bureaucratic obstacles in the GDR" that hamper cooperation with FRG counterparts. The GDR should also place greater emphasis on cooperation with other West European countries.

The FRG Government is not interested in destabilizing the situation in the GDR, Minister Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann (Democracy Now) said, citing Chancellery Minister Seiter's remark. He referred to the observation by Federal Chancellor Kohl to the effect that the annexation of the GDR to the FRG in the spirit of Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law is not up for discussion, and demanded that all such comments be refuted. [sentence as received]

Minister Gerd Poppe (Peace and Human Rights Initiative) said that in the GDR the discussion about the social consequences of the speedy establishment of a monetary union should be conducted publicly: The GDR, as a result of the prosperity differential, would become the Sicily of the Federal Republic; emigration could not be stopped in this way, unemployment would be the result.

Food Subsidies Opposed

LD1902195690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1454 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable recommended to the GDR government on 19 February that the food subsidies of 30 billion marks be cut and transformed into benefits even before the People's Chamber elections.

The subsidies thus made available should be turned into an additional monthly income. The amount of M150, the motion adopted by a majority of the roundtable proposes, should be paid to every GDR citizen as a supplement to earned income, child benefit, grant, pension, and even in cases where there is no income whatever.

Agriculture Discussed

LD1902164290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1607 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—What is the future of agriculture in the GDR? This question was the most important topic in the afternoon discussions of the roundtable today. Agriculture Minister Hans Watzek demanded that restructuring in agriculture be undertaken without

delay. This would also create the preconditions for adapting the GDR agricultural sector to the conditions of the EC.

The agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs industry has hitherto constantly supplied the population despite many problems—for example, catastrophic spare-parts shortages or obsolete slaughterhouses and processing plants. Above all, within the framework of the reform, technical equipment should be improved, and crop and livestock production should be integrated into more efficient structures. The minister argued for the preservation of the social security of farmers and agricultural workers. In particular, land ownership should be ensured.

This is also in line with the view of the roundtable that the property of all agricultural producers in the GDR should be legally guaranteed. This aspect also has to be taken into account at the negotiations with the FRG. The parties and groups agreed on a compromise paper after various drafts failed to gain majority approval among the participants. At the Bonn negotiations, former owners who had lost land through existing GDR laws should not be allowed to demand it back from farmers or cooperatives. In this case, compensation should be paid to those involved, if that has not already been done. There should be no land speculation. [passage omitted]

Rejects NATO Membership

LD1902174690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—NATO membership of the future Germany cannot be reconciled with the aim of German unity within the framework of a European peace order and hence is fundamentally rejected. This view was espoused by the participants of the GDR roundtable in a majority vote.

A resolution to this effect goes on to say that a demilitarized status for a future unified German state is being aimed at. The ending of the division of Europe is only possible if the existing frontiers with the European neighbors are not called into question. Therefore a prerequisite of German unity is a joint statement by both German states unreservedly recognizing the existing frontiers, especially the Oder-Neisse line and guaranteeing their security from the German side.

The Anschluss of the GDR or of individual provinces by the FRG by an extension of the territorial validity of the FRG Basic Law under Article 23 is rejected.

Calls for Fair Elections

LD1902200490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1934 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The parties and political organizations taking part in the GDR elections agreed at the roundtable on Monday in calling for a fair election campaign. They want to concentrate on the presentation

of their programs, aims, platforms, and candidates, as well as on the factual explanation of the differences with other parties, organizations, initiatives, movements, and people.

Any form of violence and aggressiveness had to be excluded. Everyone wants to work together against all forms of defamation and discrimination. The agreement also says that causing damage to state symbols or campaign posters of other parties is forbidden.

Data Banks To Be Destroyed

LD1902205590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2031 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All magnetic data carriers created by the former State Security about individuals will be destroyed. The roundtable decided this on Monday evening at the end of a 12-hour debate. This is to rule out the abuse and, above all, fast access to such data, as well as to contribute to the complete destruction of the former State Security service's structures.

The data carriers are to be burned or mechanically destroyed, as far as possible at the place of storage. The roundtable proposed 9 March 1990 as the deadline for this action, which is to be officially witnessed.

Declaration on Order

LD1902215190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2039 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Order, security, and state legality in the country were discussed at the roundtable on Monday. The parties and groupings acknowledged a government declaration on this problem read by Deputy Prime Minister Peter Moreth. The declaration appeals to people to do all they can for nonviolence, calm, and level-headedness, and to maintain order and state legality everywhere and toward everyone.

"Let us avoid all actions that deepen the social crisis. Let us tolerate no violations of law or justice. Let us exercise tolerance and respect for differing views," Moreth said. Only under these conditions can the first free, general, secret, and equal elections take place on 18 March.

State, judicial, and police organs that are capable of functioning, as well as an independent administration of justice that is exclusively linked to the Constitution and the laws, are the indispensable prerequisite for a successful and nonviolent course in the process of democratic renewal. However, attacks and threats against members of the state organs, judges, magistrates, and state prosecutors militate against this.

The declaration addresses itself to the delegates and members of the state bodies to work consistently to ensure that order and legality in the territories are preserved and to cooperate with all democratic forces to protect the personal and property rights of the citizens. The local authorities have to continue to be allowed to

function effectively. This can only be achieved in close cooperation with the citizens' committees.

The security partnership between the German People's Police and the citizens has to be strengthened further and become daily practice. The People's Police have to take every measure to prevent further activities of the members and sympathizers of the Republicans. It is in the social interest to prevent any influence on the independence of the judiciary and magistrature and on legal decisions.

Modrow Discusses Issue of Resettlers

*LD1902115490 Hamburg DPA in German
1111 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow has spoken in favor of the two German states dealing jointly and speedily with the existing problem of the stream of resettlers leaving the GDR. After his appearance at the roundtable, Modrow said to journalists: "The time has gone when one could apportion guilt on someone." Modrow did not wish to give a prognosis as to how the number of people leaving is developing. The premier said that he could not answer this question with mathematic figures.

Modrow emphasized that an earlier motive for leaving the GDR, the Wall, no longer exists, because the borders are open. He said: "In my opinion, it appears necessary for the two German states to thoroughly analyze the motives, the causes." He hopes for a constructive and sensible response from Bonn. It is "now high time to face responsibility." Old images of the GDR must be thrown overboard. The media and politicians should not search only for negative things in the GDR, but also for positive values.

Modrow declared his support for the concept "brothers and sisters." He said that it is no secret that he has a brother in the Federal Republic, near Lueneburg. They had not had the chance to see each other for 32 years. Modrow said that he will be meeting his brother next week or the week after.

Modrow acknowledged as very sensible and humane the latest statement by Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker on the German question and on the subject of the election campaign. He hopes that the federal president's opinion will also be a model for others in the election campaign.

Luft Briefs Committee on Currency Union

*LD1902133190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1204 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The monetary union between the GDR and the FRG on a Deutsch mark basis is expected this year, but it is not possible without effective steps toward an economic link and a social charter. This view was put forward by GDR Deputy Premier Christa Luft

in Berlin today when addressing the People's Chamber Committee for Industry, Construction and Transport.

The government will enter the negotiations with the FRG on monetary union, beginning Tuesday, from this standpoint. Mrs. Luft briefed the deputies on the results and aims of economic reform in the GDR, which requires an adaptation of the economy to market economic conditions—in a sense, from zero—within one and one-half to two years. There is no proven path that can be taken as a model. The political pressure for the unity of Germany, which altered—in economic terms—the logical sequence of fundamental measures, must be heeded. The starting point for current and future tax legislation, which has in the meantime achieved tangible progress, is compatibility with EC regulations, not primarily with regulations in the FRG. The necessary price reform must be oriented on federal German price and income relationships.

Other government representatives explained bills relating to the setting up of concerns with foreign involvement, to taxes and prices, and to the development of private trade.

Changed Election Date Rumors Said Untrue

*LD1902163290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1518 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Rumors that it will not be possible to hold elections to the People's Chamber on 18 March for organizational reasons are without any foundation, according to an announcement today by the Interior Ministry press office.

All the necessary preparations have been taken to ensure that, following the final decision by the People's Chamber on the election law and the election regulations, the electoral commission and the election bureau will be able to begin their work immediately. At the same time, the central provisional organizational bureau to prepare for the People's Chamber elections is making sure that great efforts are being undertaken to ensure the election proceeds in a way that is trouble free, comprehensible for all citizens, and monitorable.

Gysi Says PDS Not Against Unification

*LD1702193390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1816 GMT 17 Feb 90*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] is not against unification. But this can not happen overhastily and without a price tag. The way to German unity is to be brought about as part of the development of Europe toward a demilitarized, peaceful, democratic, and social Europe. This was stated by PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi on Saturday during an area delegates' conference in Leipzig.

He feels it is absolutely necessary for both states to bring their advantages into the union. For example, for the citizens of the GDR, land reform and its results, and

thus, the legal conditions in the countryside; the communes' rights of ownership to formerly expropriated land; and ownership of homes has to be recognized. Existing conditions of ownership of factories has to be guaranteed, contracts for use and tenancy, GDR citizens' rights over property worked by them for decades, and rights of usage transferred to them should not be violated.

Gysi called for cooperation between Germans, which will promote peaceful coexistence of all Europeans in East and West.

Defends PDS in Halle

LD1802000290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2213 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—It is currently not advantageous to be a member of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). However, it still offers an opportunity because it now involves real conviction and civic courage to declare oneself for the new party. This standpoint was put forward by Chairman Gregor Gysi this evening at a PDS election campaign event in Halle. He criticized the proposal made by the GDR Christian Democratic Union for the reintroduction of the 1949 GDR Constitution. Under current conditions, an immediate Anschluss to the FRG would mean a sellout of the GDR. Hard and uncompromising negotiations are necessary with the FRG Government to "save" and carry over into a united Germany the social achievements made. The Christian Democrats, Gysi said, under the current legal positions will even be open to the charge of high treason if it aims to sell GDR territory.

Gysi Notes Cooperation

LD1802162190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1510 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Suhl (ADN)—Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) Chairman Gregor Gysi sees starting points for future cooperation between the PDS and other left-wing parties and groupings. He said today to about 700 members and sympathizers of his party in Bad Salzungen (Suhl Area) that one does not wish to repeat the mistake of the disastrous fragmentation in the left-wing camp. Thus, the PDS also does not view the SPD [Social Democratic Party] as a political enemy. The hand for cooperation is stretched out widely to everyone who supports the preservation of the social network, the dominance of socialist property, and who embeds the unification process in the European context.

Gysi described one of the most important tasks of the PDS as exhorting reason and perceptiveness in the German unification process, from which no one can shut themselves off. He said free annexation will only add a further page to the picture book of history on which one will be able to read that once again something is being borne on the backs of those who are socially weak. In addition, many GDR enterprises, above all the trades,

are at present not a match for federal German competition and, therefore, their existence is endangered. It is rational, the PDS chairman said, to strengthen the economic power of the GDR with foreign financial aid and, via an increasing standard of living, also gain in self-confidence in order to be able to stand as a partner in the unification process. But for this, political stability is necessary first of all, and he hoped for this after 18 March.

Gregor Gysi said he can not exclude the possibility of a further setback in the number of members in his party. In the Bad Salzungen district, the domain of possibly the most popular former SED district secretary, since the appearance of Landolf Scherzer's book *THE FIRST* [Der Erste], the number of PDS members has gone down from 11,200 to 2,800. The situation is similar in the neighboring district of Schmalkalden, where the PDS chairman appeared in the afternoon.

Will Support Ex-Employees

LD1802234390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1553 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Suhl (ADN)—PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] Chairman Gregor Gysi today gave information at his party's meeting in Schmalkalden (Suhl Area) on a decision by the Party Executive Presidium, dated 25 January, which stipulates that employees of the PDS who are laid off are to be paid stopgap money for one year, in accordance with the GDR labor code. All further regulations such as the reimbursement of retraining costs or assistance in a necessary move to another place of work are also in accordance with the provisions of the labor code. For all support to laid-off employees, only party funds are to be used, he stressed. State funds are not available.

Gregor Gysi explained that the prerelease by DPA of a report that was allegedly to appear in Sunday's edition of the *BERLINER MORGENPOST* that stopgap money will be paid for a period of two years, is false.

PDS Presents Environmental Petition

AU2002074790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 90 p 2

[ND report: "Homeland of the Sorbs Must Not Be Polluted"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] submits the following motion to the roundtable:

"Motion by the roundtable to representatives of the green table and Dr. Diederich, minister for environmental protection and water management.

"During talks with FRG Environment Minister Toepfer scheduled for 22-23 February 1990 in Bonn, plans should be submitted to establish a German-German energy commission designed to:

"1. Draft a long-term concept for an energy system of the two German states;

"2. draft and implement an immediate aid program for energy supplies to the GDR in 1990 in order to achieve efficient progress in the sphere of environmental protection already in 1990.

"In this way, the production of brown coal can be reduced, and the Lausitz region can be preserved. The homeland of the Sorbs must not be polluted!

"It is a valuable element of the cultural landscape of a future Germany. The roundtable advocates the preservation of this cultural landscape."

Professor Dr. Helmar Hegewald, head of the Commission for Environmental Policy.

Democratic Awakening Complains of Threats

LD1802000190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2105 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—The politicians of Democratic Awakening (DA) are in many places being slandered, threatened, and hindered in their work. This was reported by delegates from Karl-Marx-Stadt, Cottbus, Berlin, and Erfurt today at the DA Main Committee session in Magdeburg. DA press spokesman Frank Thiemig has reported further in a statement passed to ADN that there have been complaints of graffiti daubed on DA offices, posters being covered over, discrimination suffered in the press, and in the technical equipping of offices. In addition, there have also been telephoned murder threats.

"We'll kill you swine!"—calls like this are being received by Dr. Uwe Pautz, member of the DA Main Executive, from Cottbus almost daily. Unknown persons have also threatened a bomb attack on his car.

In Karl-Marx-Stadt, the SPD [Social Democratic Party] and the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] joined together in an undemocratic alliance to prevent free access to the local press, it is reported. Although the local roundtable decided in January that all democratic groups and parties should present themselves to the voters in the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] area paper FREIE PRESSE, the two parties got around this decision in an unfair way. The DA expressed its very sharp displeasure at this and called on the roundtable to monitor its decisions.

In Dresden, the PDS had DA posters covered over with slanderous slogans. In Berlin, unknown persons smeared graffiti on the offices of the DA land association.

Democratic Awakening appeals to its political opponents to show fairness and civilized democratic behavior.

DA's Schnur: Roundtable 'Failed Politically'

LD1802123690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1116 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—In the opinion of Wolfgang Schnur, chairman of the Democratic Awakening (DA), the roundtable has "failed politically." It was unable to overcome the "core questions" that were "really in the vital interests of millions of people," he said today in an interview with Radio Luxembourg. Schnur cited as an example the roundtable's refusal to present a budget plan for the Deutsche mark 15 billion immediate aid from the federal government that had been called for. The GDR needs immediate aid from Bonn that must be spent on environmental protection, the health service, and consumers.

According to Schnur, the monetary union should "come about as quickly as possible." He proposed that the savings of GDR citizens up to a sum between 15,000 and 20,000 marks be exchanged at the rate of one to one, but because 80 percent of savings allegedly reached only 5,000 marks one could possibly start at even a lower sum.

Democratic Awakening Nominates Candidates

LD1802160890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0001 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—Democratic Awakening (DA) nominated six men and women as top candidates for the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. Among them are Party Chairman Wolfgang Schnur and Minister Rainer Eppelmann. The nomination of this electoral team is a sign of the new democratic culture in the country, Schnur stated on the sidelines of the main committee session in Magdeburg on Saturday. The men and women of the DA fought together with the people for the peaceful revolution. Just six months ago, many candidates were still being spied on and persecuted by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and now they were going into the election campaign without a tainted past.

DSU Chairman Urges Unity at Congress

LD1802124890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1149 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—In Leipzig this morning, German Social Union (DSU) Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling called for the immediate unity of Germany and adoption of the FRG constitutional and legal system. In a keynote speech at the First German Social Union Congress in the Leipzig Opera House, he called on people to remain in the country and have confidence. The peaceful path of renewal must be continued, he emphasized in front of the 1,400 delegates.

The DSU sees the foundation of its political work in a view of man characterized by Christian values. It sees itself as a people's party in which citizens from all social levels and groups work together.

Ebeling further cited the preservation of the forefathers' heritage and a deep respect for life as important pillars of his party's policies. No person, no party has the right to make itself a lord over others. The DSU, founded on 20 January this year, has 50,000 members.

In the presence of numerous prominent politicians from the FRG, including Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Theo Waigel and West Berlin CDU Chairman Eberhard Diepgen, the delegates in Leipzig are discussing their electoral platform and putting forward their party's candidates for 18 March. The delegates resolved to give their party the status of a national party [bundespartei], and to change the extraordinary congress into the National DSU Congress.

The DSU has formed the "Alliance for Germany" electoral coalition with the GDR CDU and Democratic Awakening.

Electoral Program Presented

LD1802155190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—The top candidate of the German Social Union (DSU) for 18 March, Professor Hansjoachim Walther, presented the electoral program of the five-weeks-old party to the delegates of the first party congress. The mathematician from Ilmenau named three principles: First, the unity of Germany as quickly as possible, second, the introduction of social market economy and third, the restoration of the old Laender structure. The DSU election campaign is definitely aimed against the left. [passage omitted]

Program of Principles

LD1802193990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1609 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At the first national congress of the DSU [German Social Union], the delegates decided on a program of principles. It is divided into six sections with 99 subsections.

Section 1 has the heading "Our understanding of man." The DSU declares its support for the inviolability of human dignity. Every person is a unique and independent individual.

Section 2 lays down freedom, solidarity, and justice as basic values of the party. Whoever demands freedom for himself must recognize the freedom of his fellow man, it is said. The DSU aims to create a legal system that regulates and secures orderly and peaceful coexistence between people in freedom. The party also backs a society based on solidarity, particularly solidarity between unequals. The precept of solidarity is only fulfilled when it is applied between those with unequal power and those with opposing interests. Under justice, the DSU understands the same law for all and equality of opportunity.

Justice also demands that social hardships caused by cuts in subsidies be balanced by additional payments (for instance pension increases).

Section 3 is devoted to the development of the individual. The DSU backs equality of men and women, social security for large families and single parents, and equality of opportunity in education. The right to work, a humane working environment, and habitable urban planning are also aims of the party.

Section 4 contains principles for a new free economic and social order. The DSU supports a social market economy that creates material affluence. It also favors free trade unions and free entrepreneurial activity.

Section 5 describes the role of the state. A new constitution must become the basis for coexistence in freedom, solidarity, and justice. In democracy all state power derives from the people.

Party pluralism, a free media policy, and the rule of law are further aims of the DSU.

Section 6 calls for freedom and unity for the German people. The division of the fatherland should be overcome in peace, in order to live together in a united Europe, the program says. Unification in the current borders, peaceful neighborliness, renunciation of force, and disarmament agreements are sought.

FRG's Waigel at Congress

LD1802154890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1335 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—"Leipzig is ours. Today and in the future it will have its place in Germany," said the chairman of the Christian Social Union and Federal Finance Minister Theo Waigel, to standing ovations from the delegates at the DSU [German Social Union] party congress. He had greeted them with the words "My dear German countrymen."

In his speech, Waigel portrayed a picture of the prospects of the people in Germany. The time has finally come to vote in and out under the motto "Freedom instead of socialism." The people in the GDR can take their own fate in their hands in the future and thus live like their countrymen in the FRG, like the French, Italians and Austrians. The FRG is—if the people in the GDR wish it—prepared to make a contribution to the stabilization of the GDR.

The politicians sharply rejected the statements made by Premier Modrow and Economy Minister Luft that at the most recent talks in Bonn the FRG government has not been prepared. Among the extensive demands that must be fulfilled in order to be able to invest capital in the GDR purposefully are, inter alia, the legal and economic framework for this. He cited the authorization of private enterprises, free prices and free trade unions. One will

not help get over an "SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] government" in a few weeks with money to the tune of billions.

He also knows the problems that are connected with German unity, Waigel stressed. He will consciously support the pensioners and those who lose their jobs at short notice.

Protest at Congress

LD1802162290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1533 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—"Waigel go home; nobody needs you here, either!" and "Theo, pack up the alliance and take it with you; we'll solve our problems ourselves," could be heard this afternoon in front of the Opera House in Leipzig where Bavarian Christian Social Union chief and Federal Finance Minister Theo Waigel was present at a news conference for the German Social Union [DSU] congress.

Organized by members of the second FRG-GDR Congress of Students, which had just ended at Karl-Marx University, the mainly young demonstrators protested against Federal German interference and submissive GDR subjugation. [passage omitted]

At the conclusion of the DSU Congress, a further rally was announced for the same place under the motto: "Freedom instead of socialism." This raises fears of further tensions.

Chairman's News Conference

LD1802185790 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1621 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At a news conference in Leipzig this afternoon, Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, who was unanimously confirmed as party chairman, expressed his pleasure at the great cohesion with which the German Social Union (DSU) is entering the election campaign. The news conference was held after the end of the first national party congress, which took place under the slogan "Freedom instead of socialism."

According to Ebeling, the DSU currently has 35,000 members and offers an alternative to all those who do not know who to vote for. Referring to the election alliance, "Alliance for Germany," to which the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] also belongs, the DSU chairman said that he understands fears about associating with them. Forty years of shared involvement by the so-called bloc parties can not be forgotten from one day to the next.

The top candidate, Professor Hansjoachim Walther, said that it must not be possible after the election for there to be a government without the DSU, ignoring the conservative-liberal alliance.

The chairman of the Christian Social Union, FRG Finance Minister Theo Waigel, affirmed his stance

regarding the quickest possible German unification and monetary union, which he explained in detail this morning. He again blamed the GDR Government for the delay in this process. For instance, the legal and economic framework conditions are still lacking for capital to be invested in a targeted way in the GDR.

The delegates earlier adopted the statute, finance, and subscription rules and program of principles.

LDP Deputy Chairmen Elected at Congress

AU1802143590 East Berlin DER MORGEN
in German 12 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "LDP Presents Itself With Closed Ranks and Forward Looking"]

[Excerpts] Dresden—The extraordinary party congress of the LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] (the party was founded under this name in 1945) ended its two-day talks in the Cultural Palace of Dresden on 10 February with a short speech by LDP Chairman Rainer Ortleb. [passage omitted]

On Saturday, the following were elected as deputy party chairmen: Wolf-Rainer Cario (717 votes); Kurt Wuen-sche (625); Martin Schnittler (476); and Johannes Wenzel (369). [passage omitted]

Joachim Guenter was elected first party manager with 529 votes. The other candidates for this position—Christian Renatus, Alfred Pracht, and Detlev—received 172, 34, and 2 votes, respectively.

Resolutions Summarized

AU1802144190 East Berlin DER MORGEN
in German 12 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Resolutions of Dresden"]

[Text] The party's new name is Liberal Democratic Party [LDP];

The LDP's election platform;

The LDP's statutes;

The commission proposed the following:

—Setting up an election alliance of the LDP with the Free Democratic Party [FDP], the German Forum Party, and all other German liberal groups.

—The party executive board has been instructed to negotiate with all German liberal parties and groups on the preparation of a common party congress.

—The party executive board has been instructed to study the way in which the nomination of Mikhail Gorbachev and Hans-Dietrich Genscher as Nobel peace prize winners can be achieved.

—Forming commissions on the party history at a central level and at regional levels;

- Forming a rehabilitation commission;
- Forming a work group on social problems;
- Printing the statement, the visitors' addresses, and the discussion of the party congress.

Genscher Addresses Congress

AU1602161790 East Berlin DER MORGEN
in German 13 Feb 90 p 3

["Excerpts" of speech by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Dresden on 9 February: "On the Path Toward a Future Europe"]

[Text] I speak to you as a German to Germans, as a liberal to liberals, and I speak to you as one who was born in this part of Germany, who grew up here, who was formed by this country, and who will never forget where he comes from and where his home is.

When I joined the Liberal Democratic Party on 30 January 1946, I opted for freedom. The words that a convincing and convinced liberal told me were decisive. He told me: Liberalism is the most comprehensive alternative to all forms of enslavement. This is the credo of the liberals. This is what distinguishes them from the conservatives and social democrats.

The peaceful revolution in the GDR is closely linked with the ideas of the liberals. I have come here to convey thanks to everybody, no matter where they stand politically, who has cleared the path toward freedom, democracy, free elections, justice, and social responsibility with dignity, responsibility, and prudence.

The peaceful revolution in the GDR honors our entire nation. We, the Germans who form the FRG, thank you for rising up for freedom, and the world should know that decades of division have not made two German nations out of one. There is not and there has never been a capitalist and a socialist German nation. There is only one German people that wants to reunite.

A great deal more can be done at this point than many presume. Despite the fact that we belong to different alliances, an economic and monetary union can be achieved at this point, a unity of social justice, a unity for the protection of our environment, and a unity concerning the rule of law. Nothing whatsoever, not even an alliance, prevents us from taking these steps. Let me start with this—I would like to tell the following to the deputies of the People's Chamber: No alliance prevents you from doing what we have never stopped doing, which is to reintroduce a uniform citizenship in the GDR.

To achieve this, it is necessary to convince people that it is worth staying in the country and helping to make a new beginning.

On our side, in the FRG, a great national solidarity contribution is required to help overcome the consequences of the past 40 years in the GDR and to create

equal opportunities here. It will not be possible to solve all problems overnight. What is important now is to tackle the tasks lying ahead of us.

We—I say this as a German from this part of the country—are no less creative, less intelligent, or less industrious than the Germans in the FRG.

One must only allow people to be creative—people want to be industrious! They want to achieve something, but industriousness and performance must be worthwhile. Good money for good work—this principle must also be applied here! We want to achieve this when we gather here.

If we Germans move closer toward each other now, if we hold our hands out to each other and embark on the path of the unification of our states, we do this in the awareness of our historic responsibility for Europe. The world looks to us Germans. The peoples of Europe should know: We do not want to rule over anybody and dominate anybody, neither as separate states nor as a united state. We Germans do not want a German Europe but a European Germany.

We will not forget the interests of the other peoples, including their security interests, which the peoples of Europe can only safeguard jointly and not against each other.

Personally, I will never forget that all developments in Central and Eastern Europe would not have been possible without the historic personality of Mikhail Gorbachev!

What is important now is to do everything to open up prospects for the people and to give them fresh hope. We must now start to create the required preconditions for German unification, and, for this reason, we want a CSCE summit conference before the end of this year. I would like to ask you the following question: Is there a better place for this summit of a Europe that is growing together than a Berlin that is also growing together?

I cannot think of a better place. There is no better way to make it clear to what extent we link our fate with the fate of Europe.

We Germans can contribute to peace in the world if we solemnly confirm the following: We Germans renounce once and for all nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons, and we want to be the driving force of disarmament and cooperation in Europe. If the wall built of stones has fallen, let us now start to remove the walls made of missiles, shells, and bombs! They have no place in the future Europe!

The Germans in the two German states want to tell the peoples of Europe: We want to shape life in a united fatherland in such a way that our happiness is at the same time the happiness of our neighbors, and that they see it as a guarantee for a secure future for us and for them. Such a Germany can only be a Germany where freedom, human dignity, and freedom prevail.

This century has seen the most terrible wars and the most horrible crimes against humanity. At the end of the century, in the last decade, we have the chance to open up a new future for our German people, a future in freedom and a future in democracy. A decision will be made in this connection in your country on 18 March.

Freedom is indivisible, but it can only win through if the liberals display unity. Let us jointly struggle for a free, for a democratic, and for a liberal Germany!

LDP Rejects Alliance With NDPD

*AU1702155590 East Berlin DER MORGEN
in German 14 Feb 90 p 1*

["Text" of declaration by Liberal Democratic Party spokesman; date not given: "Strengthen the Liberals in Elections"]

[Text] Concerning the openly voiced interest of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] to form an election alliance with the liberal forces, Wulf Oehme, spokesman of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], made the following declaration:

The election alliance of the liberals in the GDR is closed. This means that it is no longer open. It is no longer open for negotiations, which would have to take place on the basis of thorough talks when the elections take place in less than five weeks!

To put it bluntly, the NDPD is simply too late with its current and first-time declaration of support for liberal positions. All three parties in the Alliance of Free Democrats have therefore rejected the participation of the NDPD as a fourth party. Moreover, there are clear differences, particularly concerning our economic-political concept for an early and healthy growing together of the two German countries, which is based on facts, while the NDPD's concept is only based on wishful thinking.

However, all this does not mean that we want to completely isolate ourselves. The liberals have nothing against a coalition at a later stage if the election results make it possible or, rather, make it necessary. Fundamentally, we do not turn a deaf ear to national democrats who want to turn to liberal thinking or who have already arrived there.

It is true that there is a movement of members, particularly from the NDPD to the LDP and to the Free Democratic Party of Germany [FDP] of the GDR. As in all other cases, the district executive boards have to decide on all membership applications.

However, there does not seem to be an unsatiable desire within the LDP's basic units and associations for a "fusion at the grass-roots level."

So, those who are interested in making the center a strong government force for the future must vote for the liberals, for the Alliance of Free Democrats. This alliance

guarantees expert knowledge, commitment for things that can be achieved, and expertise in the economic and social spheres, as well as in the spheres of the rule of law and environmental protection.

LDP Presidium Elects Additional Members

*AU2002081390 East Berlin DER MORGEN
in German 15 Feb 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "LDP Executive Discussed Tasks for Elections"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—At its session on 13 February, the Executive Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] elected another three Presidium members: Reinhard Nissel (45) from Potsdam, member of the scientific staff of the Academy for State and Legal Sciences and deputy of the Area Assembly; Axel Viehweger (37) from Dresden, member of the City Council; and Sylvia Kolbe (29) from Leipzig, member of the scientific staff of the Herder Institute and candidate member of the Area Assembly. Klaus Wolfslast (45) from Jessen, director of the Association of Organization-Owned Enterprises, was elected as the party's treasurer. He also belongs to the 12-member Presidium. The LDP Executive confirmed the appointment of Wulf Oehme (41), a graduate journalist, as LDP spokesman. [passage omitted]

In the list of members of the LDP Executive published recently, the name of Ulrike Oschwald (35) from Rostock, a teacher at a polytechnic college and deputy to the city assembly, was missing because of a transmission error.

Genscher Opens League of Free Democrats Campaign

*LD1602191490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1830 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Halle (ADN)—The economic and monetary union must come now so that good money can be earned for good work. This was stressed by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on 16 February at a rally in his birthplace, Halle. The FRG vice chancellor was here before tens of thousands as the main speaker of the opening election campaign of the League of Free Democrats—the electoral alliance of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], the GDR FDP [Free Democratic Party], and the German Forum Party (DFP).

The 30-minute speech by the FRG politician was dominated by the subjects of freedom and German unity. He has never believed in a separate German citizenship. Now the people in the GDR, through a peaceful revolution, have gained free elections for the first time, with dignity and circumspection at issue on 18 March are democracy, justice, and social responsibility, Genscher said.

After what could be called the historic agreement of Ottawa and the latest Moscow trip with the federal

chancellor, a development is now being initiated to bring about German unity that also takes into account the security interests of the neighboring peoples. Similarly, his talks with the Western alliance partners have never left him in any doubt that a European unification process with a united free Germany would come about. "I can assure you," Genscher said, "that after 18 March, negotiations without preconditions between the two German states will begun immediately with a freely elected government as an equal partner".

40,000 Gather for Unification Rally

LD1902181490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1746 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—There was a demonstration in Leipzig on 19 February in favor of a rapid unification of the two German states. At about 1800 hours, some 40,000 or so people had gathered for a rally on the Karl-Marx-Platz. Representatives of the parties put forward their election policies from the balcony of the Opera House. Even before the start of the demonstration, leaflets, newspapers, and other election material had been distributed in the center of Leipzig.

A small group of young members of the "Republicans" attempted to draw attention to themselves by burning the election programs of other parties.

Demolition of Wall at Brandenburg Gate Begins

LD1902213190 Hamburg DPA in German
2110 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—To loud applause from hundreds of spectators, the demolition of a two-kilometer section of the Berlin Wall began late on 19 February near the Brandenburg Gate. A crane and several trucks were greeted with cheers. On the West Berlin side, the police estimated the crowd at 1,000 people, there were probably as many again on the eastern side.

There were only a few police to be seen on both sides of the wall. GDR frontier guards called for restraint. Demolition squads had begun the work in the afternoon with the removal of two watch towers near the Reichstag building. For hours, there was the constant noise of people tirelessly chipping away at the wall. [passage omitted]

Boehme Calls for 'Demilitarized' Europe

LD0902063590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1712 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—In Berlin today at the Congress of the Federation of Social Democratic Parties of the EC, Ibrahim Boehme, manager [geschaefsfuehrer] of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] in the GDR, called for a demilitarized, democratic, European home that would exclude none of the continent's peoples.

The process of the unification of the German people up to the Oder/Niesse is embedded in this process. Here it is a matter of steps, which make it seem meaningful to the people in the GDR to remain in their country with full readiness to work to the best of their ability. The next thing is to arrange a monetary and economic union with the FRG.

The Social Democrats in the GDR are not giving priority to German neutrality because this would irritate the contiguous states, Boehme said. The SPD is more in favor of step-by-step disarmament in the two German states within the framework of a worldwide disarmament process.

Dresden New Forum Rejects 'Alliance 90'

LD0802134690 Hamburg DPA in German
1246 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The Dresden area association of the citizens movement New Forum has opposed by a large majority the "Alliance 90" with Democracy Now and the Initiative Peace and Human Rights, formed for the People's Chamber elections. The Rostock and Frankfurt area associations have also expressed their objection, according to the Dresden association.

It is claimed that all three associations represent the majority position of the New Forum, which is to seek a social market economy and gradual German unification. The electoral alliance, however, was steered by a left-wing minority on positions according to which, first and foremost, the preservation of the GDR's autonomy is required.

The Dresden area spokespersons council accused spokeswoman Baerbel Bohley, who is counted among the left-wing camp of New Forum, of having put forward the left-wing political theses on economic policy and German unity, rejected by the great majority, in a GDR television program on 7 February. She advocated ideas still further to the left than those of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's successor, the Party of Democratic Socialism. [passage omitted]

Forum Party Not 'Alliance of Center' Member

LD0802005190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2322 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The German Forum Party is not a member of the "Alliance of the Center," according to a statement conveyed to ADN today. As a center party, it represents the liberal spectrum of the people. "This is also an expression of our nonviolent revolution in which the people clearly distanced themselves from the ruling structures. An alliance with the German Social Union, the Democratic Awakening, and the old Christian Democratic Union is not possible along this path."

For this reason, the German Forum Party will continue to go its own way with other liberal parties, it is stressed.

Citizens' Movements Form Electoral Alliance

LD0802163890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1027 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The formation of an electoral alliance by the New Forum, Democracy Now, and Initiative Peace and Human Rights citizens movements in the GDR was confirmed in Berlin today. It was announced in the Berlin House of Democracy, a seat of new parties and groups in the GDR, that a joint electoral program and a joint election campaign are anticipated for the parliamentary elections on 18 March.

Even after the elections, according to a representative of Democracy Now, they want to give the citizens the possibility of becoming actively involved in the political opinion-building process without direct membership in the citizens movements.

The minister sent by the Initiative Peace and Human Rights to the Modrow Government, Gerd Poppe, has, according to AP, already reported on Deutschlandfunk this morning on the formation of the electoral alliance.

New Forum Member Founds Humanist Party

LD0802191590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1119 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The German Humanist Party (HPD) has been founded in Berlin. Its founder, Peter Alexander Hussock, told ADN this today.

The party seeks a referendum on reunification. If there were approval for German unification, then they should proceed in accordance with Federal Chancellor Kohl's graduated plan. The creation of stable economic and social conditions and political and legal rights for the population are among the goals of the HPD. It felt linked, in its "significant elements," to the CDU/CSU-FDP [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union-Free Democratic Party] coalition.

Hussock had announced his resignation from New Forum in a letter to Barbel Bohley.

Chamber Resolution on Parties, Groups

AU0802140190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 30 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "For People's Representations That Are Able To Work"]

[Text] The People's Chamber adopted a resolution on the activities of representatives of all parties, social associations and political groups at the roundtables in the local people's representations and their councils.

"The following is resolved to guarantee that the local people's representations and their council assume responsibility in the present political situation:

1. Local people's representations that are able to pass a resolution can resolve to co-opt representatives from all

parties, social associations, and political groups at the round tables as deputies for vacant mandates with all rights and duties as defined by law.

2. In territories in which people's assemblies are no longer able to pass a resolution or have been dissolved, citizens' assemblies can resolve to legitimize representatives from all parties, social associations, and political groups participating in the roundtable as deputies with all rights and duties as defined by law.

3. The new parties, social associations, and political groups represented at the roundtable also have the right to submit proposals on the election of full-time and honorary council members from their ranks to the local people's representations.

4. This resolution will be in force until the next elections for the local people's representations. Definitions in laws and other legal regulations that contradict this resolution are no longer applicable."

ADN Reports Modrow Speech Before Sejm

LD1602152690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1415 GMT 16 Feb 90

["Text" of speech by Premier Hans Modrow to the Sejm in Warsaw on 16 February]

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Esteemed marshal of the Sejm; esteemed marshal of the Senate; esteemed deputies and senators; ladies and gentlemen:

I am honored to be able to speak to deputies of the Sejm and members of the Senate of the Republic of Poland on the occasion of my visit to your capital as GDR prime minister.

I convey warm greetings to you from the government and citizens of the GDR. Our country is linked to the Republic of Poland in friendship and good-neighborliness.

Poles and Germans are participating in great changes. Europe is on the threshold of a new age. The postwar period is finally coming to an end with the current democratic transformations on our continent. A new thinking that rejects security models in categories of military-political blocs is beginning to prevail. The creation of a new Europe as a community of free nations from the Atlantic to the Urals has started. The community that we want to set up is to be characterized by friendly and trusting relations between all states. That is a lofty and humanist aim. It is worth working for.

The revolutionary changes on this side and the far side of the Oder and Neisse [rivers] also open up the opportunity for further shaping relations between our neighboring states and peoples. Greater trust, mutual understanding, and real rapprochement in mutual relations can grow if all political and social forces contribute their common and also differing viewpoints.

Our cooperation cannot only be a matter for those who are now governing. In the first instance, it is a matter for action by the people. Our governments must create the conditions for this.

Let us use this opportunity together. Of course, the positions of the Germans and the Poles are not based solely on the experiences of today. Memories of the past, of times when our nation was incited, of the untold suffering inflicted on the Polish people by Hitler fascism cannot be written off.

Over 40 years ago we set out together to level this mountain. Our cooperation on this was never without problems. Not all hopes were fulfilled, not all paths toward one another proved to be viable. Nonetheless, in shaping our cooperation we are not starting from scratch. If we apply the strict measure of the seven centuries of history of German-Polish relations, then our nations and states have together achieved and created much over the past four decades. Building on experiences, including bitter ones, we can do many things better, more practically, and together more usefully.

The German-Polish peace border on the Oder and Neisse has linked us for 40 years. During the exchange of children and young people, over two million German and Polish boys and girls came to know their neighbors' country and formed friendships. A variety of direct relationships and twinings have developed between regions and towns, enterprises, schools, organizations, and institutions in our countries. They should be developed and expanded without state tutelage and regimentation.

Mutually advantageous and close economic cooperation links both countries. Each year we exchange foreign trade goods to the value of almost R2.5 billion, including important items such as machines and raw materials.

Proceeding from the solid foundation that was created, we should help to develop new things. Many things have to be reworked and caught up on; some things have to be assessed anew.

It is a matter of exploiting sources that have so far been inadequately realized. I am thinking, for example, of the great tradition of the joint struggle by German and Polish democrats, patriots, and humanists for true friendship between our peoples. The "Polish songs" of Uhland, Freiligrath, Herwegh, and others that arose on the eve of the 1848 revolution in Germany are unforgettable. They reflected solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Polish people. George Herwegh said in his appeal to the Polish patriots in Paris: "We are treading one path together... No free Germany without a free Poland, no free Poland without a free Germany!"

On the cultural level as well, there is without a doubt still much terrain to be gained together, free from regimentation and rigid conditions. States should only create the framework within which varied political, economic, cultural, and intellectual relations may develop.

We see wide and vital horizons for the future of our relations. They have European dimensions. Germans and Poles have a historical obligation and responsibility to cooperate consciously in the European process. Mutual understanding and cooperation between them are factors in European security both today and in the future.

All progress in our relations promotes the process of European unification.

German unity, which has moved onto the agenda, must be embedded in the pan-European architecture and must absolutely reflect the interests of Poland and our other neighbors.

In my concept for a path to a unified Germany, I put forward for discussion a solution to the German question that corresponds to the interests of all European states. A "united German fatherland" must never again become a terror to its neighbors, but must be a partner. I declare my commitment to the historic responsibility for good-neighborly, friendly relations between Poles and Germans. The Agreement of Zgorzelec of 6 July 1950 on the Oder-Neisse peace border is and remains binding international law for us.

We know the value of the fact that our Polish neighbor recognizes the right of the Germans to self-determination and restoration of state unity. The GDR Government for its part accepts the inalienable right of Poland to have the certainty that no state of the German nation will ever again pose a threat to the life, assets, and existence of the Polish people and its state.

We have closely noted the latest statements by President Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Mazowiecki. The GDR Government has complete understanding for the Polish Republic's desire to see that its interests are maintained when there is a discussion of borders and security issues of this political dimension, which also affect the neighbors of the two German states. We therefore support the concerns of the Republic of Poland and are in favor of the full guarantee of the legitimate and special interests of the Republic of Poland and its people regarding the inviolability of their borders and security.

Poland's voice counts in the dialogue of the Europeans. It can help toward bringing the German question to a sensible solution. I support a sensible solution to the united German question. I support a united Germany that is militarily neutral in its outlook and constantly committed to peace.

However this issue will be resolved in the end, Germans and Poles should always be good neighbors, reliable partners, and friends. The GDR will bring this unambiguous political position and this humane hope to a future German state. On this issue, there are no ifs or buts for us, now or in the future.

Esteemed deputies and senators! We would like to thank the democratic forces in Poland who stood up for

democratic renewal and thereby gave us great hope for the path of renewal. I wish you success and personal well-being in your responsible parliamentary work for the good of the Republic of Poland, the freedom and independence of its citizens, for a secure Europe that is friendly with all nations, and for peace in the world. I thank you for your attention.

Further on Visit

LD1602231990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2250 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—His statement before representatives of the Sejm and Senate foreign affairs committees was an honest profession by the GDR Government of those tasks that must be solved today in Europe during the growing together of the two German states. Premier Hans Modrow told journalists in Warsaw at the end of his working visit on 16 February that the Polish neighbor should thus realize that the Oder-Neisse frontier is to remain the binding frontier. The friendship between the two peoples, too, is strong for the future.

He said this also with a view to the 18 March elections, since his position is shared by the representatives of the so-called opposition who have participated in his talks with the Polish representatives. They have once again affirmed, Modrow said, that the democratic process of renewal in the GDR will be continued and unification of the two German states shaped in such a way that one can live in peace with the Germans and cultivate friendship with one another. That was also the position of Rainer Eppelmann, Dr. Walter Romberg, Mathias Platzeck, and the other members of his delegation.

NDPD Official Meets USSR's Gremitskikh

AU0802112290 East Berlin BERLINER
ALLGEMEINE
in German 2 Feb 90 p 1

[BA report: "Meeting With USSR Spokesman"]

[Text] East Berlin (BA)—Yesterday, Yuriy Gremitskikh, spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, met at his request with Guenter Hartmann, deputy chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], for a talk in the party building in Berlin.

The diplomat stressed that the USSR is interested in contacts with political parties and movements in the GDR. New, better bases for this are developing as a result of the process of changes in both countries. He paid tribute to the antifascist, national, and democratic attitude of the NDPD, because of which the party is internationally renowned in the Soviet Union and in other countries.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman and Karen Karagesyan, international information specialist, were interested in foreign policy concepts of the NDPD. Guenter Hartmann briefed them on the positions adopted for this purpose in the accountability report to

the 14th congress and in the election platform, and affirmed the NDPD's attitude toward the GDR's alliance with the USSR. The interlocutors considered the implementation of the latest USSR ideas on German policy as something fitting into the European process and the world political context. The guests were particularly interested in the NDPD's contacts with new organizations of the USSR, such as the "Rebirth" Association of the Soviet Germans.

The meeting was attended by Yevgeniy Gryaznov, first secretary of the USSR Embassy, and Alfred Meyer, department head at the NDPD Executive Committee.

'Breeze' of Change Noted in Albania

AU1602122590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 14 Feb 90 p 2

[Gisela Hentges editorial: "Albania From the Offside"]

[Text] It is true that Albania has not been affected by the wind of changes sweeping other European countries, but a breeze can already be felt. The walls that the Hoxha regime built to isolate the country from the outside world are starting to crumble. The small country on the Adriatic Sea has opened itself up slowly under party and state leader Alia. Without making a big fuss about it, internationally common forms of payment, including short-term credits, are practiced in the country's trade. There is even no longer any resistance to joint ventures.

As far as foreign policy is concerned, the country of the eagles is mainly active in the Balkans, where it is committed to cooperation and good-neighborliness. Events in neighboring Kosovo, where about 2 million ethnic Albanians are fighting for autonomy, are being followed with sympathy. Developments in other socialist countries naturally do not remain without impact on Albania's internal situation. Cautious steps toward more democracy and less bureaucracy are to be observed. Decisionmaking powers are being shifted from the top to the bottom, and the rights of enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions are being considerably extended. Enterprise managers and other managers can now be elected by employees. Several candidates can be nominated in elections to the party and state organs, and the term of office is limited. The recommendation by the ninth plenary session of the Workers Party that a justice ministry be reestablished is certainly significant as well.

These tone are not altogether new, but they have become louder recently. The pace has also changed, from adagio to allegro.

'Two Plus Four' Talks Formula Criticized

AU1902173790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 16 Feb 90 p 1

[Bo Adam commentary: "Magic Formula: Two Plus Four?"]

[Text] So is that it—the international roof covering German-German efforts for unification? In the Canadian city of Ottawa, the foreign ministers of the four victorious powers of World War II, as well as the FRG and the GDR, agreed on the formula "two plus four." According to this formula, the two German states are to clarify legal and economic questions internally, while international aspects are to be discussed on the basis of the six countries.

Together with the result of the German-German summit in Bonn, a complex scheme for talks has now been established. However, the formula "two plus four" is not a magic formula, but first and foremost, a void formula. After all, no mention has so far been made of its contents. Since certain contents were not clarified beforehand, which could have been done, this formula has already been challenged. The Polish Government would like to participate as the seventh participant in

this round. Bonn immediately rejected this demand—a most questionable attitude; after all, it involves an existential question for Poland. It is certainly due to the FRG Government that this question has not long since been settled.

Other European states have also claimed their right to participate in such talks. The formula of Ottawa would be dissolved into nothing.

In the face of all this, the scheduled timetable for these talks seems to be based on an optimistic view, to put it mildly. One would have to achieve certain results by the fall, and these would then have to be unquestioningly confirmed by all CSCE states. This would still ignore all countries outside Europe, which, as former participants in the war, would also have to be included in a peace agreement. It would be unprecedented in international diplomacy if results were achieved so quickly.

Thurmer: Troop Withdrawal Timetable in 'Pipeline'

LD1602000390 Warsaw PAP in English 2115 GMT
15 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—The Soviet military unit stationed in the village of Hajmasker, Veszprem County, is to pull out from the place by the end of the year, Gyula Thurmer was told by Brigadier General Iosip Organan, training deputy of the commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary.

The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] president, who is a party candidate in the 7th constituency of Veszprem County, held talks with the commanders of the unit on the local community's worries over the presence of Soviet troops in the region, as well as questions also relating to the elections.

The brigadier general added he only said his personal opinion. But as negotiations are all pointing in this direction, a detailed timetable is already in the pipeline.

Pact Membership, Soviet Troop Withdrawal Viewed

LD1602122890 Budapest Domestic Service in
Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Regarding the Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary, this can be concluded within a month. [passage omitted] Laszlo Lang, deputy director of the Foreign Institute, was interviewed by Jozsef Laszlo:

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] What does the Soviet troop withdrawal facilitate, Hungarian neutrality or Hungary's existence outside the blocs?

[Lang] Even if our formal ties to the Warsaw Pact still exist, our form of existence, our political form of existence, suggests a kind of existence outside the blocs.

The Soviet troop withdrawal will not change our membership in the Warsaw Pact unless we want to change our membership in the Pact, for the two have nothing to do with each other. This is a two-sided affair, that is, the presence of the Soviet troops, just the same as their withdrawal, while the Warsaw Pact is an issue of several sides, a structure with two different kinds of contracts.

However, it is obvious that the Soviet troop withdrawal—and moreover, something that is equally topical, in my opinion: the revision and renegotiation of our relations of bilateral contracts not to mention the revision of the agreements on mutual friendship, assistance, and cooperation—also will facilitate the progress of our distancing ourselves from the Warsaw Pact before long. [end recording]

Horn on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD1802133490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0730 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Let us continue with the German question. The scene is the Canadian capitol, or more precisely, Budapest, where Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has just returned. He replied to questions by our colleague, Jozsef P. Szabo:

[Begin recording] [Szabo] The German question was one of the central topics, even, perhaps, the most important topic at the Ottawa Open Skies summit. I sensed from Ottawa statements that Gyula Horn, perhaps, figures on a somewhat slower process regarding the question of reunification than is generally acknowledged nowadays.

[Horn] I would say that it was one of the topics of the talks. What is important in connection with the German question, at least on the basis of the talks there?

First, how fast should this process be? Regarding the pace, I think that a lot can happen within a few months in the interest of reunification, especially in the period following 18 March, that is, after the GDR elections, since preparation for the reunification have already begun in the economic, political, and many other fields.

I consider it a new development and a development of great importance, by all means, and not only from the point of view of reunification, but also from the point of view of the West Berlin question, too, that the representatives and leaders of the four superpowers and of the governments of the GDR and FRG sit down together and continuously reconcile the worries and problems in connection with reunification.

The third element is that the agreement on this contains a kind of formulation saying that they take into consideration the security interests of the neighboring countries, too.

[Szabo] Do you consider the French or Polish worries justified?

[Horn] In my opinion, it is Hungary that is the least prejudiced in connection with the German question. At the same time, the Slav states' reservations, based specifically on their very tragic past experiences, are naturally far greater than those of everyone else. Besides the Slavs, the French also have ample negative experiences. Thus, they are cautious, but the latest statement by President Mitterrand essentially expresses that France's leadership does not have reservations vis-a-vis the reunification.

[Szabo] In connection with the Central European troops reductions by the Soviet Union and the United States, an important announcement was made in Ottawa. Did this announcement, which was a surprise to us, come as a surprise to the Hungarian foreign minister?

[Horn] No, it did not come as a surprise because Shevardnadze asked us to sit down and coordinate the

question on which they are going to agree with the United States, so we sat down together and he showed me the plan and the text on which they have finally agreed with the United States.

The substance of this is that the Soviet leadership accepts the [words indistinct] of 190,000. Well, what does this mean in practical terms? According to our knowledge, a Soviet contingent of 360,000 is staying in the GDR, 75,000 in Czechoslovakia, 50,000-52,000 in Hungary, and some 35,800-40,000 in Poland. Thus, this is near enough to 400,000! So if they reduce this number to 195,000, this means that practically in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, also from the point of view of the agreement, the Soviet troops' presence can be ended forthwith. So this strengthens our positions, our positions in the talks, by all means.

As to what will be the fate of the Soviet troops stationed in the GDR, I cannot tell you because this probably will be put on the table only in connection with the elections and reunification.

To our knowledge, Poland did not ask, did not require the Soviet troops' withdrawal.

[Szabo] Can the expectations be justified, that in connection with the present Soviet-American agreement, the realization of the troop withdrawal from Hungary is actually a technical question regarding its schedule, etc?

[Horn] This ascertainment is entirely justified because we have achieved our agreement in principle. Also I agreed with Shevardnadze in Ottawa that shortly, possibly in the first half of next month sometime, we will sign the intergovernmental agreement on the troop withdrawal.

There are two problems of a technical nature which, unfortunately, are more than just technical problems, that is, we are talking about an enormous amount of equipment, heavy equipment at that: tanks, armored vehicles, and so on. Scheduling and a precise agenda are necessary because we would like, and the Soviet party agrees with this, for the troop withdrawal to be carried out primarily by air and rail because if these great tanks will start rolling down our roads, they will destroy roads that are not in the best state as they are, or they would cause very serious traffic jams.

At the same time, the rather low level capacity and transfer capacity of not so much the Zahony, but the Cop Soviet railway crossing centrum also causes concern. On top of this, the Soviet units withdrawing from Czechoslovakia also go through Cop, which also creates a problem. [end recording]

Hungarian-Soviet Anniversary Marked in Moscow

LD1602221290 Budapest MTI in English 1536 GMT
16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, February 16 (MTI)—In the spirit of change, Hungarian-Soviet bilateral agreements should be

adjusted to the new principles and new requirements, so that an advanced framework can be provided for interstate relations, Sandor Yorke, ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to the Soviet Union, said at a Friday lunch held to mark the 42nd anniversary of the conclusion of the Hungarian-Soviet agreement on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

The lunch was attended by Ivan Aboimov, deputy foreign minister, and Valeriy Musatov, deputy head of the CPSU CC's Foreign Affairs Department.

Hungary would like to revise the effective agreements in the spirit of friendship, in compliance with current requirements. One stage of this process is the negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, Mr Gyorke said.

The Soviet partner agrees with the endeavours of the Hungarian side, Mr Aboimov said. The Soviet Union shares the view that everything which has become obsolete should be renewed, he said.

Horn Interviewed on German Unification

LD1802224290 Budapest Television Service in
Hungarian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by reporter Sandor Regoe at the Open Skies conference in Ottawa; date not given]

[Text] [Regoe] Let us not follow the logic of the conference's schedule now. Let us discuss first of all what this Open Skies conference is all about.

[Horn] NATO and the Warsaw Pact—if the agreement comes into being, and in my opinion it will, we hope it will happen on 12 May, on the anniversary of the initiative. Then what this will mean is that thereafter they will be able to fly directly over one another's territories and carry out control measurements and examinations from the air. Nothing like this has happened before in the relations of the two alliance systems in all their existence. Therefore, this is a significant confidence-building step, which shows the new atmosphere that has evolved in East-West relations. It also shows that in fact no prejudice exists which might impede the settlement in the relations of the two alliance systems, because from this point of view I consider this to be a very big step. That is the first thing I would highlight in connection with this matter.

The other thing that to me is very important is this—and it is no coincidence—that the first Canadian flight over the first Warsaw Pact country occurred in January over Hungary specifically, in cooperation with the Hungarian military-technical leadership and personnel. I must say I was very pleased to hear in Ottawa all the words of praise addressed to Hungary there. It also increased our small country's prestige.

[Regoe] Let us now highlight one of the numerous issues, one that stands closest to us geographically, politically,

and economically, and this is the German issue. Moreover, let us also approach this from the viewpoint of confidence building. What must be done in order for a united Germany to one day come into being without arousing fear and suspicion in Europe and its immediate neighborhood?

[Horn] We have no reservations about German reunification. The essence of our standpoint from the outset has been what it is today as well—that this is fundamentally, decisively, the Germans' affair. My firm opinion is that this must be approached from other than a military viewpoint. Albeit, particularly in this region of Europe—but I will add, also in France or other Western states, too—the tragic experiences of the first and second world wars still are rooted deep in people, at least in many people.

But, at the same time, now—when this came up in 1989 and today in 1990—we are living in totally different times than we were in 1939 or the ensuing years. It is a question of a different Germany. There is a nuclear era which guarantees, on the basis of mutual deterrence, that no armed clashes or wars will occur, either here on the European Continent or between Europe and other regions of the world. Today the FRG is a big economic power whose weight is felt more and more not only here in Europe but in the entire world, the entire world economy. Now, starting from this, it is said that if the Germanys unite, then the weight of the German economy will further increase by leaps and bounds and this might cause an eventual shift of power both within the EEC and in all of Europe, which naturally could also have political consequences.

In my judgment, at the same time the fact is that the international links—the internationalization of our entire economic activity—have assumed such enormous proportions that by now one cannot speak merely about German economic weight in isolation, unconnected with the economic presence or role of the United States, Japan, and many other countries in the world economy. Therefore, one must definitely also take into consideration the fact that a future Germany, in the economic sphere as well, can only exist in close cooperation with other countries.

[Regoe] So, you are not afraid that a strong, an economically strong, Germany might want to rise above the others with its military strength, too?

[Horn] I do not believe that. I am certain that in the process of German reunification, in other words, until the united Germany comes into being, guarantees can be worked out, insofar as it is necessary, guarantees which can definitively exclude the possibility of a future Germany representing some kind of military threat to anyone.

[Regoe] How can the German issue fit into the Helsinki process? There it is a question of the inviolability of borders, and in practice, with a united Germany, a European state will cease to exist?

[Horn] Look, on the one hand I take as my starting point the fact that with the emergence of a united Germany the issue of borders can represent a serious problem only in one case, and that is the German-Polish border. If the plan is realized, and the governments of the six states, the four big powers, and the two Germanys hold discussions, then they will find the appropriate legal and other solutions. I do not see serious dangers in any other field.

On the other hand, there is the question, naturally, of what should happen with the two German states' present alliance allegiance. My view is—and this is my own opinion—that in the coming years, decades, Europe will definitely need a defensive military political alliance system. Why? Because in my view a united, an eventually united Europe could invariably be endangered from various parts of the world by severe political or even military threats. Outside Europe, in very many countries, dictatorial regimes which rule by prestige still exist, to say nothing of the dangers of international terrorism, the increasing danger of international terrorism. So the democracies will be threatened by these dangers even in the coming years.

What I believe is that an extraordinarily strong cooperation, perhaps even a convergence, an amalgamation, will evolve between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, which naturally presupposes that a new situation will come into being in interstate cooperation, in the democratic sense, between East and West, in Europe as well. If I take this into consideration, then the present situation of the GDR, or even its adherence to the Warsaw Pact, will appear in an entirely different light, in different colors, within a few years from what it appears, seems today.

Says Germany's NATO Membership Open

LD1602204690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Gyorgy Bolgar was curious about the attitude of the Hungarian Government and its foreign minister [regarding German unification] at the Ottawa foreign ministers meeting. Foreign Minister Gyula Horn spoke to him.

[Begin recording] [Horn] What I consider important is that it is necessary, naturally, to take into account that the new Germany should not endanger the anyone's security. Whether it will be neutral or remain a member state of NATO is now an open question. Nothing has been ruled out, nor the fact that the six must also deal with this issue.

[Bolgar] What is the Hungarian Government's stand in this issue?

[Horn] I have to say that we already took a stand on this matter, which of course does not mean it was a final standpoint, since much can change in the course of events. What I consider very important is the following, and we stated this the first day at the Warsaw Pact meeting: within the Warsaw Pact every member state has

the right to represent its own standpoint, according to its best judgement. In this matter, the Warsaw Pact is only consulting for the time being; the member states are conducting consultative discussions, now, and will do so in the coming period—just like the NATO countries. I add that it will be necessary for the results of the consultations of the six to be discussed in the two alliance systems, and by the two alliance systems, with one another. [end recording]

Ministry 'Sources' on German Monetary Union

LD1902150190 Budapest MTI in English 1235 GMT
19 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 19, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—The establishment of monetary union between the two Germanies which would make the DM [deutschmark] the official currency of the GDR, would pose problems for Hungarian-GDR trade, Hungarian Ministry of Trade sources say.

With East Germany already the Hungary's most demanding Comecon [CEMA] partner, Hungary would find itself in many ways competing on exactly the same terms as Western exporters. The drop in bilateral trade, however, would not be long-lived, experts reckon, because several manufacturing cooperation agreements are in force between the two countries, and Hungary will try to adapt to the new situation, the sources say.

The farm machine cooperation arrangement, under which Hungary delivers to the GDR various machine components and gets back complete farm machines, is one example, while the GDR buys 1,000 Ikarus buses from Hungary annually and is not unlikely to cut that quantity substantially, since not even Mercedes could meet such large orders at short notice.

Since in most Western accounting systems fiscal 1990 ends on March 31, the Hungarian Trade Ministry is expecting the GDR to switch over to the DM on April 1.

Trade between Hungary and the GDR is currently worth 2 billion roubles annually with most of the 1 billion roubles' Hungarian exports made up of farm machine components, medical instruments, bauxite, aluminium, wine, champagne, canned fruit and vegetables, refrigerators and textile goods.

Some 65 per cent of the Hungarian imports are machine tools, printing and textile industry machines, cars, coke [as received] coal, chemicals, and fertilizers.

Trade Ministry Official on OECD Talks

LD1902144990 Budapest MTI in English 1236 GMT
19 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 19, 1990 (MTI-econews)—A Hungarian delegation led by the head of the foreign economic policy department of the Hungarian Ministry of Trade, Dr Peter Balazs held talks in the OECD headquarters in Paris last week. The delegation met with

Secretary-General Jean-Claude Paye and senior OECD leaders to discuss prospects for cooperation.

Dr Balazs told MTI's Paris correspondent that in its first-ever talks with the organisation Hungary intended to explore areas in which it could link up with OECD activities and gain access to the organization's own data, including results of surveys, economic analyses and recommendations.

However, for the time being Hungary has no intention of joining the OECD.

M. Jean-Claude Paye told MTI's correspondent that the initiative for the talks came from Hungary. The OECD, he said, is not a closed club but an organisation of industrial democracies, with the member countries free to use information and advice offered by the organisation as they see fit.

Cooperation between Hungary's [as received] and the OECD may, however meet with some resistance from those inside the organisation who would prefer to wait and see before entering into any formal arrangement.

Another problem will be finding sufficient funds to meet the cost of OECD-commissioned studies, which would have to be financed from member countries' own pockets.

Mr Paye, however, considered it in the OECD's interest to discuss developments outside its domain, particularly those in Eastern Europe, which have a powerful influence on the world economy.

Deputy Minister on EC Agreement

LD1902140190 Budapest MTI in English 1152 GMT
19 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 19, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—Hungary has responded favourably to a proposal put forward by the EC Commission, approved by the Council of Ministers, that the EC introduce association agreements with the countries of Eastern European.

Deputy minister of trade, Tibor Melega, said that the minimum requirements in the new association agreement are contained in the cooperation agreement between Hungary and the EC, under which the EC grants certain preferences on Hungarian exports and also offers financial assistance. The maximum requirements under an association agreement could, however, extend to the creation of a uniform system of customs duty.

Mr Melega said that following the EC decision, the Hungarian Government has proposed entering into an interim free-trade agreement with both the EC and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. The letter of intent on the framework of such an agreement is currently being drafted. Mr Melega said it would have to be

an interim agreement as, for the time being, Hungary is unable to reciprocate the benefits it is requesting from the two trading groups.

The deputy minister says the decision by the EC bring forward the removal of quotas on Hungarian exports could boost Hungarian exports by 100-120 million USD [U.S. dollars], a year, while another 80 million USD could be saved by the reduction in customs duties and the removal of levies from some farm exports.

In a separate development, it was announced after the Friday meeting of the Council of Ministers that Mr Melega has requested to be relieved from his post.

Trade Ministry Welcomes COCOM Decision

LD1902151290 Budapest MTI in English 1330 GMT
19 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 13, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—The weekend meeting in Paris of the COCOM member states cut the time needed for licensing the exports of articles that currently fall under the ban, from 12 to 8 weeks.

Commenting on the move, a Hungarian Ministry of Trade official told ECONews that while this was good news, no progress has yet been made regarding the concession Hungary requested from the U.S. Government last year concerning a specific range of high-tech products, although the Paris meeting did decide to cut the list of banned high-tech telecommunications equipment, computers and machine tools, which, the ministry official suggested, could have an effect Hungarian imports. [sentence as received]

Petrasovits, Nyers on European Socialists' Talks

AU1502130490 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 10 Feb 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Social Democratic Party chairman Anna Petrasovits and Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers by Pal Lederer in Berlin on 9 February: "Two Hungarian Delegations at the Summit Meeting of Western European Socialists"]

[Excerpts] The Federation of Socialist Parties of the European Communities held its 17th Congress in the Reichstag Building in West Berlin on 8 and 9 February. At the meeting, heads of socialist and social democratic parties in Europe exchanged views on the challenges of a common European future. Two Hungarian delegations, led by Rezso Nyers and Anna Petrasovits, participated as hosts. They gave an interview to our Berlin correspondent.

[Lederer] What were your expectations from this meeting, and what has come true of these expectations?

[Petrasovits] This was the first meeting of so many leading representatives of the social democratic movement in Europe since our party again became a full

member of the Socialist International. Thus, it has been a great opportunity for building and promoting contacts. It was very good to meet old friends and acquaintances and to review Hungary's situation and the changes in Eastern Europe. I had several bilateral meetings, with Neil Kinnock and Bettino Craxi for example, during which we talked, among other things, about cooperation between the two parties and the two countries, and how the Italians could help us in restoring the Hungarian economy. We also discussed the provision of help to our party, and how the Western European social democratic and socialist parties could support our election campaign. This was also discussed at the meeting of the parties' foreign affairs secretaries. [passage omitted]

[Lederer] You and the representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] greeted each other here, but nothing else. Can you not imagine a rapprochement between the two parties?

[Petrasovits] I cannot imagine rapprochement because, given our concepts, we have our natural coalition partners. However, I regard as an anomaly the fact that there is no information contact between our two parties, while we do have such contacts with all the other Hungarian parties. At the moment, there is a communication breakdown between our two parties, and we did not cause this.

[Lederer] Who caused this?

[Petrasovits] Ever since our party's establishment, we have been constantly receiving signals according to which we are standing in the way of certain MSZP circles. [passage omitted]

[Lederer] What ideas and messages have you brought to the conference?

[Nyers] I participated in the conference with the conviction that contacts with other European Communities are vital for us, and that our movement has and will have a role in the family of the socialist and social democratic parties in Europe.

[Lederer] What can we expect from the EC?

[Nyers] In my view, we can request support from the EC, support that is not for financing deficits but rather to make us help ourselves, in other words, using fishermen as an example, not to give us fish but fishing nets to fish with. [passage omitted]

[Lederer] The smaller countries in East Europe now have to overcome double obstacles that would be difficult to overcome separately. They have to catch up with democratic Europe and reorganize themselves, as well as to reorganize their European contacts. They also have to create new economic and political contacts with a changing Soviet Union, and they have to establish a new type of cooperation among themselves. Is all this not too much?

[Nyers] Of course it is, but these are the times we have to live through. The Brezhnev policy, which was to treat the

neighboring countries as some sort of external empire, has been sentenced to death by the current changes and cannot be revived. The small countries in East Europe are becoming politically independent and are regaining their specific identities. However, in the meantime, it is in their interest to continue their broad contacts with the Soviet economy because these countries have developed considerable production capacities for the demands of the Soviet market. Therefore, these countries could not prosper should their contacts with this huge market lessen, or collapse altogether. Equally, they cannot prosper by maintaining the relationship in its present form either. [passage omitted]

[Lederer] On the basis of what you heard here at the congress and of your talks with representatives of the leaders of the European social democracy, in your view, how can these parties contribute to strengthening the complex changes in Central-East Europe, and are they willing to do this?

[Nyers] By all means, they want to contribute to a successful restructuring. They regard this as in their own interest, but they are still seeking ways of doing this. It seems that there is more need for concept-formulating workshop discussions and talks among leaders on seeking ways, rather than for large demonstrative conferences. [passage omitted]

People's Army Selling Decommissioned Tanks

*LD1602214190 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] [Announcer] The [Hungarian] People's Army has made it known that owing to the troop reductions, it wishes to free itself of some tanks and aircraft which could be used for peaceful objectives, for example in agricultural production. Our reporters went out to look around and find out what was available, and they learned that apart from MiG-21's, T-52, T-54, and T-55 tanks are being sold.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] For how much are you selling the t-55?

[Unidentified speaker] We are selling the T-55 for between 50,000 and 65,000 [U.S.] dollars.

[Reporter] So a Hungarian could buy it for approximately six million forints?

[Speaker] Yes, yes.

[Reporter] Is this not a bit too much for a 25-year-old vehicle especially since on a dirt road it consumes some 300 liters of gasoline every 100 kilometers?

[Speaker] Without doubt it consumes a lot, but it can be put to very good use in forest-farming for removing tree-trunks because it has enormous strength, and with shovels these can be shifted. It's easier for landscaping, and this uses up less energy. Therefore, the outlay to pay for the 300-200 liters of fuel, which you have mentioned, is recouped.

[Reporter] Private persons can buy them, isn't that so?

[Speaker] To my knowledge there is no obstacle to this.

[Reporter] The top is taken off, and it can no longer be used in a battle condition.

[Speaker] It is not necessary to take off the top, for in that case it would be so ugly, it would not be tank-like. [Words indistinct] It could also be sold in a customized condition—inasmuch as a rich customer wants so and so and pays for the service.

[Reporter] Is it possible to bargain?

[Speaker] Naturally, like in every business, it is possible to bargain here, too.

[Reporter] When the prospective customer says he would like to buy a tank, can he choose or do you make a recommendation to him?

[Speaker] He can choose, too. [end recording]

MSZMP Assets Balance Found Incomplete

*LD1902155790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's [MSZMP] assets balance submitted last November cannot be qualified as complete and is inadequate for showing the asset situation as it stood in September. This has been established by the State Audit Office. In the experts' opinion, neither the necessary stock-taking nor the prescribed accountancy work was carried out at the time the assets balance was drawn up. The State Audit Office has sent its report to the chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, who in this connection merely made observations but did not dispute the findings of the Audit Office. The report has also been sent to the acting president of the National Assembly.

National Bank Devalues Forint 2 Percent

*LD1902184290 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] We have just received the news that the Hungarian National Bank is devaluing the forint as from tomorrow by a further two percent. Since the bank this year has already devalued our national currency by three percent, according to the current regulation the National Bank cannot, by its own authority, alter the forint's exchange rate disadvantageously against Western currencies this year.

Debt Rescheduling Agreed With Paris Club

LD1602213890 Warsaw PAP in English 1936 GMT
16 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, Feb. 16 (PAP)—An agreement between Poland and the 17 countries grouped in the Paris Club of creditors was signed here in small hours on Friday after two days and nights of intensive negotiations.

The agreement provides for rescheduling of nearly \$10 billion of the Polish debts, due to be paid by March 1, 1991, over 14 years with an 8-year period of grace.

This means that for the first eight years Poland will pay only interest on the \$10 billion and the principal should be repaid within the next six years.

The agreement provides that Poland will pay no money owed to the creditor countries within the coming year.

According to the Paris Club estimates, Poland owes \$27 billion to the member countries.

The agreement concerns medium- and long-term credits.

Head of the Paris Club Jean Claude Trichet chaired the debates and Poland's Finance Vice Minister Janusz Sawicki headed the Polish delegation.

The final communique reads that the representatives of the 17 member states of the club took into account efforts taken by Poland's government with a view to restoring economy as well as historic significance of the great transformations now under way in the Polish economy. They received with satisfaction the Polish Government's economic programme supported also by the International Monetary Fund.

Chairman of the Paris Club Jean Claude Trichet said at a press conference that the rescheduling of repayment of the Polish debts of nearly \$10 billion is the most flexible option possible. It is the most generous agreement reached so far by the Paris Club with its debtors. It indicates the confidence the government heads and finance ministers from the 17 countries have in Poland, he said.

Trichet added that the agreement is of a unique character, the most generous one the Paris Club could have selected. It is a sign of appreciation for Balcerowicz plan, its assumptions, the hitherto implementation and first positive effects.

Next meetings of the Paris Club on Polish debts are certain to take place. Their course will depend on the implementation of Balcerowicz plan, Jean Claude Trichet stated.

Vice Minister Janusz Sawicki told newsmen that the agreement is the best one Poland could reach at the moment. The negotiations just ended should be viewed in the context of the letter sent by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki a week ago to the government heads of the

17 countries. Thus the agreement just signed is as if a response of those countries to the premier's letter, he stated.

Vice Minister Sawicki also pointed out that the problem of reduction of the Polish debt remains open. The agreement is the first step in that direction although it does not include yet elements of the debt reduction about which premier wrote in his letter.

In tune with Tadeusz Mazowiecki's suggestion included in the letter, the Paris Club decided also to set up a special working team which would in consultation with Polish experts consider a possibility for an agreement on reduction of the Polish debt in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund.

GDR's Modrow Meets With Mazowiecki, Jaruzelski

Modrow, Mazowiecki Brief Press

LD1602144390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1300 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Report on news conference with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by correspondent Adam Zubko in Warsaw on 16 February—passages within quotation marks are recorded; Modrow speaks in German with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, who is in Warsaw on a working visit today. After the meeting, both statesmen made brief statements to journalists.

[Zubko] Premier Hans Modrow, when asked about the subject of the conversation with Premier Mazowiecki, said:

[Modrow] "The main topic was the subject of German unification and Poland's and Europe's interests in this process. We began the discussion by recalling the 1950 Zgorzelec Treaty between Poland and the GDR and the foundations for normalization of relations between Poland and the GDR from 1970. We think both German states should abide by these agreements so that the issue of German unification isn't a threat or a cause for concern to its neighbors.

"The GDR wants to continue to develop friendly relations with the Polish Republic, in all possible spheres, on the basis of experiences to date. I think that, particularly at the present time, feelings of friendship and amicability between Poles and Germans are of enormous significance."

[Zubko] Premier Modrow was then asked whether he discussed matters of European security with Premier Mazowiecki.

[Modrow] "We take the stance that German unification has to take place in a way which guarantees security in Europe and good-neighborly relations between nations. This applies to both the eastern and western neighbors of both German states."

[Zubko] The journalists also asked about what Premier Modrow thought about Poland's intention to participate in the conference of the four powers and both German states.

[Modrow] "I have complete understanding for the thesis propounded by Premier Mazowiecki that if someone is being discussed, then he should be present and he must have the opportunity to present his arguments. But how it will turn out in practice nobody knows. The details of this matter were not the subject of our talks. I think, however, that Premier Mazowiecki's words should be taken into consideration."

[Zubko] Here is what Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said after meeting with Premier Modrow:

[Mazowiecki] "It was a very open and frank conversation in which we both openly expressed our views, our assessment of the situation, our assessment of this process which has been developing in recent months and which is leading to German unification, but which must also lead to full and complete safeguarding of rights for our German neighbors, to [word indistinct] to live in peace, and peace itself. I think that our very open conversation, which did not hide difficulties which exist on this road, was very fruitful."

"[Zubko] Which subject among those you discussed was the most difficult one?"

"[Mazowiecki] We were discussing whether after the election in the GDR a situation will develop in which German unification will be conducted in a controlled way. This process will take into consideration all the difficulties, all the issues, because besides border issues, there exist a number of other issues which require solution and settlement; for example, our countries had close economic ties. And all this needs to be settled—how these relations will develop further when Germany is united."

"[Zubko] How do you assess Poland's chances for participation in the conference of the four great powers and both Germanies on the issue of German unification?"

"[Mazowiecki] I believe that Poland has moral, political and legal grounds to be present [words indistinct]. In the coming days we will continue to present our stance to the four great powers and to all those concerned. We will continue to [word indistinct]. Poland does not have to participate in everything, but Polish [word indistinct] could be present [words indistinct]."

More on Press Briefing

*LD1602141590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1252 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Excerpt] Warsaw (ADN)—The treaties of Zgorzelec (1950) and Warsaw (1970) should be the foundation on which the two German states feel committed in their relationship with Poland. In the words of Prime Minister Hans Modrow, the GDR and the Polish Republic proceed from this basis.

As Modrow stressed at noon on Friday in Warsaw, following a discussion with his Polish counterpart Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on this basis the unification of the two German states should not be a problem of threat or anxiety for its neighbors. The unification of the two states should take place under conditions in which security and good-neighborliness in Europe are safeguarded. This applies in particular to eastern neighbors, for example Poland, but also to western neighbors such as France. Modrow expressed his complete understanding for Poland's desire to be present at the two plus four negotiations. How this will be shaped in detail was not established during the talk. If someone is being discussed, then the person has a right to be heard and to be present. This principle should be respected.

Hans Modrow favors the expansion of relations between the GDR and the Polish Republic. Traditional aspects, such as encounters between young people and economic and cultural cooperation, should be preserved and developed. The feelings of friendship between the Germans and the Poles occupy precisely at this moment and in this hour a particularly large place, they have a particularly large importance.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki described the first round of talks as a very open and honest exchange of opinion during which both politicians expressed their assessments and views on the process of German unification. The developments between both German states should guarantee complete security and the right of Germany's neighbors to a life in calm and peace. The talk, during which problematic questions were not excluded, were very fruitful against this background. In the view of Poland's Government head, the most difficult problem is the question of how the situation will be further shaped following the March elections in the GDR, and that the process of unification runs its course along secure tracks. A further problem, alongside that of the border, is the continuation of comprehensive economic contacts.

Mazowiecki underlined the moral right of his country to participation in future negotiations on Germany. This standpoint will be made more precisely in the next days to the four victor powers and all interested sides. Poland does not have to be present at all negotiations, but it should have a seat at the table during those which directly affect the country. [passage omitted]

Modrow Backs Demand for Presence in Talks

*LD1602153290 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT
16 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—Government Spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska told a press conference today that during the talks of the Polish and GDR prime ministers, the GDR side responded with full understanding to Poland's postulates as to participation in the unification conference of the six.

The GDR understands that Poland wants to be present where matters concerning her are discussed. The GDR is ready to back the Polish postulate, Niezabitowska said.

Meets Parliamentary Leaders

*LD1602154790 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1452 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—After his statement before the foreign affairs commissions of the two chambers of the Polish parliament, which was recieved with prolonged applause, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and the public figures accompanying him had a one-hour or so exchange of views with Polish parliamentarians in Warsaw today. The marshals of the Sejm and Senate—Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski—as well as the chairmen of the foreign affairs commissions of the Sejm and Senate—Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group of Solidarity, and Janusz Ziolkowski—were present.

Earlier, Bronislaw Geremek thanked the guest for his remarks. He recalled that the European order in the 20th Century had been destroyed by two wars for which Germany was responsible. The fate of the European peoples and that of the German people had been affected. The post-war period is coming to an end now. The peoples of the continent are establishing a free Europe. Geremek underlined the special role of the four great powers in decisions over Germany's future. However, all peoples of the continent, and particularly Germany's neighbors, must have a hand in its shaping. Poland has a right to be present at the negotiations on the implementation of the Germans' right to self-determination.

Says Youth Oppose Neo-Fascism

*LD1602174290 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1615 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki talked with Hans Modrow about great political issues. For young Poles, anxious about manifestations of the rebirth of neo-fascism in the GDR, this visit is an opportunity to find out what German youth thinks about this.

[Begin Modrow recording, in German, with superimposed Polish translation] Of course, this is also causing anxiety at home. There are young people in our country who are not short of consideration and common sense. They oppose such attitudes. They do not want to give up

the achievements of democracy, which include friendship and good relations with Poland. [end recording]

Meets Jaruzelski

*LD1602170290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1638 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—The president of the Republic of Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski, received GDR Premier Hans Modrow for talks late this afternoon in Warsaw. Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Harry Ott, as well as other personalities from the two sides, were present at the meeting in "Belvedere" Castle.

Discusses German Unification

*LD1602193390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1832 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—The process of German unification must, in the view of Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski, be embedded organically in the process of European unity. In his talk with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow in Warsaw on Friday, he said that the recognized right of the German people to self-determination must be realized in such a way that the rights of other peoples to a secure existence, and to inviolable borders is not threatened. It is for that reason that Poland attaches such great importance to participation in the conference on the unification of Germany. Poland has a specific political and moral right.

Hans Modrow emphasized that the traditional relations of good neighborliness and friendly cooperation must be preserved. This cooperation has become possible above all through the fact that the GDR has recognized once and for all, the inviolability of the Oder-Neisse border.

Further on Jaruzelski, Modrow Talks

*LD1602200690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] GDR Premier Hans Modrow is on a visit to Poland. [passage omitted on Modrow meeting with Mazowiecki, Modrow address to Sejm]

Professor Bronislaw Geremek referred to the positive experiences of Polish-German relations:

[Begin Geremek recording] The Polish Government expressed the conviction that Germany's neighbors ought to also have their say in the German question, and I would like to express great satisfaction in the idea that the presence of all of Germany's neighbors in the debate on the future of Germany and Europe has found understanding on your part. [end recording]

The rest of the meeting took place behind closed doors. Members of the delegation, ministers without portfolio, representing democratic parties and organizations in the GDR, also took part.

The experiences of our relations, which are also a valuable indicator for German-Polish cooperation in the future, were the subject of the talks between Premier Modrow and Wojciech Jaruzelski. Presenting the Polish attitude to the unification process, the president indicated that it ought to be organically included in the process of unifying Europe. The recognised right of the German nation to self-determination must be realized in such a manner so that the equally important right of other nations, including Poland, to a safe existence and inviolable borders, is in no way threatened. For that reason, Poland connects great importance to a befitting participation in the conference on German unification. Our country has a particular political and moral right to such participation.

At present, plenary talks are being held with the participation of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Hans Modrow. [passage omitted on lower-level talks]

Government News Conference

LD1602192790 Warsaw PAP in English 1554 GMT
16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—At her news conference here today Poland's government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska said that the problem of Soviet troops withdrawal from Poland and Germany unification had not been discussed during yesterday's meeting between the cabinet members and the delegation of the Solidarity Executive Commission headed by Lech Walesa.

But, Niezabitowska added, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki held a private talk with Lech Walesa in result of which the latter changed his position on these issues.

The spokeswoman stated that at first Lech Walesa treated reluctantly the idea of Poland's participation in the conference of the six on Germany unification. But the interlocutors agreed finally that "Poland should be present everywhere where she or her interests are discussed."

The problem of Poland's border on the Odra and Nysa should be clearly defined in a future peace treaty with Germany, Niezabitowska said adding that the question of the treaty itself is an open issue yet.

After Mazowiecki's Visit to Britain

Assessing Premier Mazowiecki's visit to Great Britain, Malgorzata Niezabitowska stated that both sides reached far-going political and economic agreements and that the visit was an event of great importance.

Poland gained, among other things, guarantees for short-term credits, won Great Britain's support in negotiations with the Paris Club of creditors and for her application for membership in the Council of Europe.

During the visit, Niezabitowska continued, Premier Mazowiecki presented Poland's stand on German unification. Poland demands that the matter of the Odra-Nysa border should be settled in a treaty. It would be a treaty initialed before the unification and signed after it.

Poland also wants to participate in that part of the conference which will directly concern her security to which she is entitled morally, legally and historically, she said.

The spokeswoman underlined Margaret Thatcher's statement stressing the fact that Germany unification should not undermine but strengthen the system of security in Europe and that participation of the neighbouring countries in the conference should be taken into account.

Mazowiecki-Modrow

Malgorzata Niezabitowska briefed journalists on the first results of talks between Premier Mazowiecki and GDR's Prime Minister Hans Modrow. She pointed out that the talks clarified the stands in a comprehensive and detailed way.

During the talks Hans Modrow stated that the GDR approaches with full understanding the Polish postulate to participate in the unification conference realizing that Poland wants to be present where issues concerning her are discussed. The GDR is prepared to support Poland's postulates on this matter.

It was stressed in the talks as well that following elections in the GDR, the process of unification should proceed in calm, and that the Zgorzelec treaty should be a component part of settlements on the borders.

In reply to a question, Niezabitowska explained that in result of yesterday's talk between Premier Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski it was settled that the next stage in Poland's stand on the six-group conference is her demand to be included in it because in Poland's opinion declarations on ensuring security for Germany's neighbours should be understood as giving them a vote at the conference.

The stand is the next step in view of Minister Skubiszewski's declaration made in Ottawa where he talked about Poland's participation in the conference as an open issue, the spokeswoman added.

Agreement in Paris

Malgorzata Niezabitowska announced that today in Paris Poland reached agreement on rescheduling her debts with 17 creditor countries group in the Paris Club.

Dabrowski on Stabilization Programme

Finance vice-minister Marek Dabrowski assessed the implementation of the government's stabilization programme over past seven weeks in optimistic terms.

He stated, among other things, that Poland has left behind the inflation phase in the food market and that stability of prices should be expected in February.

Dabrowski did not deny, however, that Poland faces a difficult stage of stabilizing prices and of recession, already visible in liquidation of a considerable number of crafts firms and in a drop of sold production by 23.2 percent last January against January 1989.

Replies to Other Questions

The spokeswoman answered a number of questions. One of them concerned USSR's stand on Poland's postulate on the unification conference. Niezabitowska stated that yesterday Premier Mazowiecki received the Soviet ambassador to Poland in connection with that and she expressed hope that the USSR will take a stand on the issue soon.

Malgorzata Niezabitowska announced also that the supplies of crude oil from the USSR will total 12.75 million tons this year, although in January they were by 246 thousand tons lower than planned.

Parliamentary elections should not be expected to be held this year, the spokeswoman said.

She also stated that according to the government the election of the candidate not supported by the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group for Krakow's new president was held in tune with the law.

Niezabitowska's other statements include:

Liquidation of Poland's Government in Exile in London is an internal issue of the Polish emigration. It would be a sign of normalization of relations.

Most buildings in possession of political parties have no property rights and should be taken over by the Treasury.

We do not feel threatened by German unification. The FRG is a democratic society although growing popularity of the Republican Party arouses some concern. It is not known where the GDR's society which has not learnt democracy will turn.

The Nadwislanska division of troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will reinforce militia patrols with a view to maintaining public order. The same is to apply to the units of the internal military service (military police). Some of the security service employees will also join militia.

Further on Modrow Talks

LD1602235490 Warsaw PAP in English 2310 GMT
16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16: "We highly value that our Polish neighbour acknowledges the right of Germans to self-determination and to build state unity. The government of the GDR on its part accepts the inalienable right

of Poland to certainty that no state of the German nation will at any time threaten the life, property and existence of the Polish nation and its state. We want the warranted and special interests of Poland and its nation to be fully guaranteed as concerns assurances of the inviolability of its borders and security," stated East Germany's premier Hans Modrow at a joint meeting of the Sejm and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees today.

The meeting with deputies and senators was one of the most important points of the program of the one-day working visit of the East German premier.

Modrow also met with President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Mazowiecki-Modrow

Today both premiers talked twice. After a meeting lasting more than two hours, Hans Modrow stated in part: "We proceeded from the assumption that the Treaty of 1950 from Goerlitz and Zgorzelec and the treaty signed in Warsaw in 1970 create foundations which should be binding for both German states. The issue of unification of both German states should be solved on this basis and this should not be received as a threat or reason for concern for the neighbours.

"I have full understanding for the formula expressed by Premier Mazowiecki that if there is talk about someone, that someone has a right to be heard and present."

Mazowiecki stated: "I think that our talks, which did not conceal difficulties on this road, were very fruitful.

Meeting of Sejm, Senate Foreign Committees

In the afternoon Premier Modrow attended a meeting hosted by deputies and senators of the Foreign Affairs Committees of both houses of parliament.

In a statement delivered in the presence of Sejm and Senate speakers Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski respectively and Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, the East German premier stated that his country highly valued the stance of Poland acknowledging the right of Germans to self-determination and to build state unity.

Thanking for the words which are important for Poland and Germany, Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Bronislaw Geremek expressed satisfaction for the understanding displayed by Modrow for the idea of the presence of all of Germany's neighbours in debates on the future of that country and Europe.

Asked what the nearest future would bring for economic relations between Poland and the GDR, Premier Modrow stated that both states would continue to have common economic interests. He also expressed a conviction that the East German economy would continue to need Polish workers.

Jaruzelski-Modrow

Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Premier Modrow.

Modrow stressed that relations between the GDR and Poland have traditionally been based on good neighbourly principles and friendly cooperation. Such cooperation between the two states and nations was possible above all owing to the fact that the GDR definitely acknowledged the inviolability of the borders on the Odra and Nysa rivers.

Jaruzelski stated that Polish authorities always attached tremendous importance to good-neighbourly, friendly cooperation with the GDR. In light of the painful Polish-German experience they constitute a historical achievement which must be preserved for the future permanently.

The president stressed that Poland attaches big attention to appropriate participation in a conference on the unification of Germany. "Our country has a special, political and moral right to this participation," Jaruzelski said.

Talks between both Governments

Plenary talks presided over by Mazowiecki and Modrow took place in the evening. The sides touched upon some issues of relations between Poland and the GDR, the problem of unification of Germany, and European security. These matters were discussed in detail by representatives of both governments in four working groups.

In the political group Vice Ministers of Foreign Affairs Boleslaw Kulski and Harry Ott discussed selected issues of bilateral contacts as well as the issue of unification of Germany.

Kulski said he was convinced that the lasting achievements of relations between Poland and the GDR would be introduced into the new state organism of a United Germany.

Both interlocutors stressed that it was in the interest of both sides for unification processes in Germany to have an ordered nature and be coordinated with the all-European process.

The GDR side agreed that some bilateral matters should be resolved still before the March elections in the GDR.

During talks in the economic group, Vice Premier Jan Janowski and Minister of Heavy Industry Kurt Singhuber agreed to set up a working group which will work out principles of economic cooperation based above all on direct contacts between enterprises.

The sides also discussed exploitation of the "friendship" crude oil pipeline and commodity transit through the GDR to West Berlin.

During talks with GDR's Minister Mathias Platzeck, Polish Minister of Environmental Protection Bronislaw

Kaminski received tentative consent of the GDR for Polish experts to examine the safety standards of the nuclear power plant in Grieswalde.

During a meeting between Vice Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jerzy Szreter and Minister Rainer Eppelmann the two discussed social matters concerning Poles employed in the GDR.

Spokesman Supports Role in Reunification Talks

LD1602213190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2046 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Henryk Wozniakowski, deputy Polish Government spokesman, has assessed the complete understanding of the GDR on Poland's demand for participation in the "two plus four" conference as a fundamental result of the talks between Hans Modrow and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The two sides also agreed that the essence of the relations between Poland and the GDR must also be secured after the People's Chamber elections and must be included in the unification of the two German states. The GDR premier left behind in Warsaw the certainty that the settlements of the Treaty of Zgorzelec must be an essential part of frontier questions.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki briefed Mikhail Gorbachev by telephone on the content of his talks with Hans Modrow, which concerned the German question and the standpoint of his government on this matter. This was also done in face-to-face meetings with the ambassadors of France and the United States in Warsaw.

According to Wozniakowski, the contributions of the two countries for confidence building measures, and for reforming CEMA were also subjects in the discussions between delegation members of the two sides. Further topics included cases of discrimination against Polish tourists and workers in the GDR, questions of the transit route from Poland to West Berlin, and improvements in tourism. The Polish side should itself be allowed to study the safety situation in the Greifswald nuclear power station. In addition, the GDR promised to look into permission for an association of Polish emigres in the GDR. Unanimous desire was expressed to continue youth exchanges and include newly established parties and organizations in bilateral cooperation.

Mazowiecki, Gorbachev Discuss German Issue

LD1602203690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Mikhail Gorbachev discussed the German issue over the telephone today. The premier also received the U.S. and French ambassadors, John Davis and Claude Harel, respectively. Tadeusz Mazowiecki presented the Polish side's position regarding the processes of German reunification and on taking into account our country's direct participation in the international negotiations, whose topic will also be the security of Germany's neighbors.

Protesters Call for Iliescu's Resignation

AU1802151990 Paris AFP in English 1456 GMT
18 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 18 (AFP)—Between 2,000 and 3,000 people demonstrated outside the headquarters of the provisional government in central Bucharest on Sunday, calling for the resignation of Romanian leader Ion Iliescu and an end to communism.

A small group smashed windows and a glass door and briefly gained entrance to the building's lobby. Security guards did not intervene and the demonstrators left of their own free will.

The crowd then fell back a few yards into the street, vacating the steps up to what used to be the Foreign Ministry building and became the headquarters of the country's new leadership after the downfall of the Ceausescu regime in December.

The demonstrators chanted "Down with Iliescu", "No to communism" and "Down with the Securitate" (the hated secret police, who supported Ceausescu). Only a handful of the demonstrators were in uniform.

The military were behind demonstrations earlier in the week, which obtained the resignation on Friday of the unpopular defence minister, General Nicolae Militaru, who was tainted by his association with the old regime.

Army officers, who had also been demanding the resignation of Interior Minister General Mikahi Chitac, threatened to continue their street protests.

Gen. Chitac was implicated in the crushing of demonstrations in Timisoara, which sparked off the revolution that toppled Ceausescu.

The officers have also accused Mr. Iliescu of trying to set up a dictatorship.

Demonstrators' Actions 'Isolated'

AU1802163590 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1600 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] We want to inform the public in Bucharest and in the country that restless, violent elements, are breaking every norm of civilized conduct, have illegally entered government headquarters at the Palace in Victoria Square.

Several hundred citizens, of various ages and social categories, present in Victory Square today, are demanding the dismantling of the security forces. They are chanting anti-government slogans.

The public has to understand that such isolated and culpable actions must by no means take place any more in the current conditions of our country.

All of us have to act calmly and determinedly to normalize and ensure the natural development of our everyday life.

Demonstrators Evacuated

AU1802190390 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1820 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] We have received the following information from ROMPRES:

Personnel of the Armed Forces and paratroopers have begun to evacuate the demonstrators who a few hours ago forcefully entered the Government Headquarters Building.

All those who have entered the building illegally will be evacuated, while those who committed acts of vandalism will be handed over to the relevant authorities for investigations.

Important military forces are present in Victory Square, as well as armored cars and firemen, who are taking action to normalize the situation. Medical vans are also present to grant first aid if need be.

Major General Horia Opruta, chief of military aviation, and the commander of the paratroopers, declared the following to ROMPRES agency:

There are 20 seriously injured paratroopers, but they have already been taken to hospital. Those who defended the revolution with their life have now been beaten up with iron bars, clubs, and other objects.

Those who entered the building used unheard of violence. What is happening here is proof of disorder and we do not know who is promoting it. What these people are doing is dangerous and it is outright intolerable. Even in these conditions, my soldiers will preserve calm and will not respond with violence to violence, Major General Horia Opruta said.

Deputy Voican Said Abducted

AU1802174890 Paris AFP in English 1739 GMT
18 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 18 (AFP)—Up to 300 protesters stormed the headquarters of Romania's provisional government here Sunday amid unconfirmed reports that Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican had been abducted.

Romanian soldiers lined up in the corridors of the building did nothing to stop the protesters, an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE reporter in the building said. The protesters ransacked desks and threw documents put of the windows, witnesses said.

There were unconfirmed reports that the deputy prime minister had been led out of the building by men dressed in civilian clothes.

As the protesters raided the government headquarters, a crowd of around 3,000 demonstrators chanting "Down with Iliescu" and "Down with communism" remained gathered in Victory Square where the building is located.

The protesters were also demanding the formal dismantling of the Securitate state security police which supported the ousted dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, who was executed on Christmas Day.

Romanian Interior Minister Mihai Chitac admitted in an interview with a French newspaper last week that the Securitate had been integrated into the Romanian Army after the revolution.

Romanian radio and television broadcast a communique stating that "turbulent and violent elements trampling underfoot democratic and civilized life illegally penetrated the government headquarters as far as official offices."

Voican Abduction Denied

*AU1802194690 Paris AFP in English 1918 GMT
18 Feb 90*

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 18 (AFP)—Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu declared here Sunday from his government office besieged by hostile demonstrators that he "would not resign under pressure from the mob."

Shortly after 8.30 p.m. (1830 GMT), paratroop units meanwhile began clearing the central Victory Square and adjoining government headquarters of demonstrators.

Mr. Voican, who was earlier rumoured to have been abducted by demonstrators, told journalists including an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent, that "the crowd, whipped up by irresponsible activists, are putting the interests of particular groups above the national interest."

The demonstrators, who around 6 p.m. (1600 GMT) had entered the government building on the square, managed to get as far as the office of Mr. Voican, the only member of the provisional government on the scene at the time.

He said they had demanded his resignation and to know where President Ion Iliescu could be found. He however got free from them, after being forced on to the balcony of the building, and was able to return to his office.

Voiculescu Says Life 'Threatened'

*AU1802220090 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2000 GMT 18 Feb 90*

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu by unidentified correspondents at the Palace of Victory in Bucharest on 18 February—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] I understand that you were (?worried).

[Voiculescu] No. My life was threatened. Had I not been surrounded by a few benevolent people, I would have been killed in the most awful way without being able to [indistinct correspondent interruption] establish the responsibility, the collective contribution of those who were hitting, without moderation from all directions, but

who cannot be identified further. Everything depended on not falling down, because had I fallen down, I would have been trampled on by the mob of people who, at the same time, moved like a roller and this flow of people would have actually crushed me. I would have been a victim of a collective and blind rage.

[Correspondent] Do you believe that there is a way to find the guilty ones?

[Voiculescu] I personally recognized only two people and I hope I will have the possibility to identify them.

[Correspondent] This means that [words indistinct] which is impossible.

[Voiculescu] No. Chance will bring them again face to face with me.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion: The television claims that there are still Securitate cadres around; that Securitate cadres are still preserved?

[Voiculescu] Well, this is a matter of imagination and language; the Securitate no longer exists as an institution; it has been dismantled.

[Correspondent] But the people still exist.

[Voiculescu] The people cannot be dismantled, and when we say things we have to be very careful how we word them and what we are referring to.

[Correspondent] I was referring to people.

[Voiculescu] The people who made up [the Securitate] no longer are part of any organized structure of the former apparatus, which has disappeared, and those individual people find themselves in different situations.

[Correspondent] Mr. Gelu Voican Voiculescu, a short time ago AFP reported a piece of news in which you stated that you will not resign under mass pressure. Do you maintain this statement?

[Voiculescu] Obviously, in situations like this, one cannot talk of tolerating pressure and [word indistinct] conditions are posed. We do not act under the direct threat of a challenge.

[Correspondent] Do you believe—as AFP also affirmed—that the demonstrations that took place this afternoon in Victory Square, and in the Palace, represent the interests of some groups that represent the will of a nation?

[Voiculescu] Certainly, here are the interests of some irresponsible groups which have recklessly instigated unrest and disorder to destabilize the situation. In so doing, they place themselves in a completely anti-patriotic position because they do not spare any efforts to sacrifice the nation's interests for group interests; interests which compared with our national interests seem mean.

[Correspondent] A last question. Do you think that actions such as those today can endanger the political and social stability, and even economic stability in this period?

[Voiculescu] Obviously, in a completely dishonest way, and at variance with the spirit of the consensus in which the Provisional National Unity Council was set up, such acts aim at destabilization. They want to put us in the position of being viewed by public opinion as incapable of preserving order in the state, and to force us to withdraw.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

Opposition Said Involved in Protests

*AU1802220390 Paris AFP in English 2115 GMT
18 Feb 90*

[Text] BUCHAREST, Feb 18 (AFP)—Hundreds of angry protesters stormed the Romanian government's headquarters here Sunday, briefly seizing Deputy Premier Gelu Voican Voiculescu, who called the violence an attempted coup d'etat.

"Members of opposition parties were identified as among those who penetrated the palace," Mr. Voican said. Earlier Mr. Voican, whose offices were besieged by the protesters, said he "would not resign under pressure from the mob."

The protesters, demanding to know the whereabouts of President Ion Iliescu, ransacked desks and threw documents out of the windows of the building, witnesses said.

An Agence France-Presse reporter inside the building said Romanian soldiers were lined up in the corridors but did nothing to stop the demonstrators.

As up to 300 of the protesters smashed windows and raided the government headquarters, a crowd of around 3,000 demonstrators shouting "Down with Iliescu" and "Down with communism" were gathered in Victory Square where the building is located.

Mr. Voican was at one point dragged out of his office and paraded out on the balcony of the building in front of the protesters in a bid to force him to announce his own resignation.

Officials said the protesters who led him outside had ripped his shirt and pulled hairs out of his beard, but he managed to persuade them to let him go and was shown on television later looking uninjured. Another deputy premier, Mihai Braganescu, managed to escape.

Mr. Voican told reporters that "the crowd, whipped up by irresponsible activists, are putting the interests of particular groups above the national interest."

Sunday's disturbances were a "natural disorder in a period of provisional government," Mr. Voican said.

The official Rompress news agency reported that special paratroop units had moved in to clear out the headquarters building and Victory Square.

General Oria Opruta, an aviation commander quoted by Rompress, said that 20 paratroopers were injured after being struck by truncheons and metal bars. But he added that "the army will not respond to violence with more violence."

Witnesses said security had been upgraded around the television headquarters in Bucharest, the site of some of the most dramatic events during the December revolution that toppled dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mr. Voican met later in the evening with Interior Minister General Mihai Chitac, whose resignation has been demanded by angry army officers who said he had taken part in the bloody crushing of demonstrations in the western city of Timisoara last December.

Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman said in Paris that "everything has been returned to order" in the Romanian capital.

Mr. Roman, on a four-day visit to the French capital, told reporters that he had been in contact with Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, adding that "everything is all right."

He said the protesters who entered the headquarters building had been arrested for identity checks.

Mr. Roman added that if the current provisional government in Romania "doesn't have true legitimacy, because we did not come out of elections, the some 200 or 300 protesters, on the other hand, represent nothing."

Roman Says 'Calm' Returns to Bucharest

*LD1802224890 Paris Domestic Service in French
2130 GMT 18 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] There was a violent demonstration in Bucharest this afternoon. [passage omitted] Meanwhile, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman is in Paris. A short while ago he reacted to the events in Bucharest, pointing out that calm has now returned to the Romanian capital:

[Begin recording] [Roman] I have been able to speak to my minister of foreign affairs: All is back in order and the demonstrators who came in with iron bars and blunt implements have been arrested in order to determine where this came from. But all is well.

[Weil] In the end, don't all these demonstrations coming one after the other in Bucharest call your legitimacy into question?

[Roman] No, no. I believe...what legitimacy? Whose? Whose legitimacy?

[Weil] That of the people who are leading Romania at the moment.

[Roman] But currently we are a provisional council in which there are all the political forces. Obviously, we as a whole do not have legitimacy, real legitimacy, because we did not emerge as a result of elections, but do the 200 or 300 or so people who went in there represent something? They, on the contrary, represent nothing. That is the difference. [end recording]

Those remarks were recorded by Pierre Weil.

Iliescu Statement on 18 Feb Incidents

*AU1902103490 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0935 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Statement by Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, to Romanian Free Radio in connection with the acts of violence in Bucharest on 18 February—live]

[Text] We are now in the meeting hall of the PNUC Bureau. We are examining the events that took place yesterday morning in Victory Square. As could be noted on television last night, a group of Bucharest citizens demonstrated in Victory Square. They expressed a number of political demands and complaints in connection with the state of affairs in our society, as well as some demands in connection with the government and the country's leadership. This group of violent elements, armed with objects of aggression, such as bars and other objects, committed unheard of acts of violence against the government building, the building of the Interior Ministry, and the government leadership. They forced doors open, broke windows, molested and injured a number of the military and policemen of the order-keeping force. They entered this building, devastated the building and the offices of some government members, causing great material damage and great harm to some workers of the order-keeping force, and causing harm to the country's political activity.

Numerous demonstrators in the square distanced themselves from these acts of violence which occurred in the government building.

It is regrettable that such actions are taking place against a background full of political hope; at a time when, at the political level, a national consensus has been reached among all parties, and when a body of political cooperation has been set up—the PNUC—and is working. The Executive Bureau is holding its second meeting and has examined, calmly and in a cooperative spirit, the problems facing the country and ways and means to stabilize the economic, social, and political activity. Therefore, it is regrettable that under such conditions circles interested in destabilizing the situation in the country are active.

Not much can be said yet in connection with who is inciting and organizing such actions. Things will be studied and investigated.

From this office, I want to call on the country and declare that all members of the Bureau have expressed disapproval and indignation at these acts of violence committed, and at the delinquent elements who committed such violent acts. They firmly spoke out for taking measures against those who resort to such acts of violence by strictly applying the law; those who violate the law must be punished severely because they act against our national interests.

These are not actions by people who want to protect the revolution, but counterrevolutionary actions whose sole aim it is to undermine the constructive efforts of those who are interested in promoting democracy in Romania, and in removing all the consequences of a dictatorship that caused great harm to the economic, social, and cultural activity, that left us a genuine malady in the social relations of our society, and that left vestiges of profound suspicion which hamper us in working quietly and constructively.

There are many things to repair, including things regarding the former repressive bodies and all vestiges of the former regime, which acted against our people's interests. This can be done only in conditions of quietude, cooperation, and constructive work by all those interested in stabilizing our country's situation and in placing it on a normal road of economic, social, and political development.

This is the option voiced by the representatives of all political formations which have joined and are active within the PNUC. The representative of this body are here in the Executive Bureau and all have taken this stance unanimously.

We appeal to all interested forces, to all our country's citizens, and to all bright minds to form a common front around the PNUC, the current leadership of our country, in order to guarantee quietude and stability in our country.

On this occasion we also call on the miners in the Jiu Valley and on other categories of people who expressed their indignation at the acts of aggression committed against the government in Victory Square and who want to come to Bucharest to express solidarity with the government; we ask them not to come because it is not necessary. We call for quiet and wisdom; support the government and the peacekeeping forces, so that quiet may be restored in our country. We call on all people of good faith to temperate the elements which do nothing but hamper the normal progress of our social and political activity.

I believe I have expressed the common viewpoint of the members of our Bureau, and we want this call to be heard by all people so that they may help us in our constructive efforts.

Iliescu on 'State of Tension'

AU1902193990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1737 GMT 19 Feb 90

["An Interview With Mr Ion Iliescu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/2/1990—"The state of tension and unrest, of continuous stress, which is fomented and exacerbated by the passions and ambitions specific to the election fight, only aggravates the state of affairs in the country, said Mr Ion Iliescu, president of the National Unity Council Union, in an interview with the recently brought out newspaper "DIMINEATA" of February 19. It tends to compromise the trump cards of the Romanian economy, which does, however, boast development prospects which are more promising than those in other countries that are committed to similar processes. [quotation marks as received]

"It is the duty of politicians to overpass narrow party interests and look for ways to concert all forces in the service of national interests.

"The National Salvation Front is in a situation that is somewhat worse than that of the political parties created after the revolution as it decided to enter the elections later, whereas the legal parties have already started a sustained preelection campaign. Furthermore, the National Salvation Front has to stand all the criticism leveled at state power in conditions in which the economy and the social life are faced with numerous difficulties. The ones who criticize often forget the good things that have been achieved in a very short period of time. In the last analysis it is a great risk the ones committed to governmental tasks at a time of crisis take—and Romania indeed encounters a state of deep economic, social and political crisis. To overcome this crisis general elections should be held on time and a representative constituent assembly, boasting full legitimacy, to provide for greater stability in the country and for the recovery of the national economy should be created.

"The youth, who played such an active role in the revolution and made great sacrifices will be the prime dynamic forces in the process of reconstruction and future development of the country, along the coordinates of the revolution in science and technology, of ensuring the necessary balance in the economy and the protection of the environment and of the social milieu."

Answering a question, Mr Iliescu said that he had not been a colleague of Gorbachev and had never had the opportunity to meet the Soviet head of state. There is no similitude between what happens in Romania after Ceausescu's fall, which led to the dissolution of the communist party, whose ideology was discredited, and to the demolition of the old state structures, and the perestroika in the USSR. What happens in Romania is a

radical process to place the sociopolitical and state life as a whole on new, democratic bases, on political-pluralism principles.

Blames Rightists for 18 Feb Events

AU1902212790 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2024 GMT 19 Feb

[Editorial Report] At 2024 GMT on 19 February, Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian carries on its "24 Hours" program a meeting by Ion Iliescu and other Provisional National Unity Council (PNUC) members with pro-PNUC miners demonstrating in Victory Square.

Addressing the miners from the balcony of the PNUC headquarters, Iliescu accuses "rightist forces," and "former Iron-Guardists" of instigating the attack on the PNUC headquarters on 18 February. He says that apparently these circles, "financed from abroad", want to establish a "nationalist-rightist government.

Defends Opposition Parties

AU2002001290 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2136 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Statement by Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, at meeting with Jiu Valley Miners in Bucharest's Victory Square on 19 February]

[Text] Allow me to tell you something. Please, do not confuse the parties, particularly the representatives of the parties present here, with the initiators of last night's terrorist actions. These people present here are people of good faith. They have come here with us to welcome you to Bucharest. Please, show them all due respect.

Mr. Cunesco [leader of the Social-Democratic Party] is a man of good faith. His party has nothing to do with the actions of last night's vandals. Mr. Campeanu, the leader of the National Liberal Party, has been on our side. This morning at the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council he took a strong stand against such actions and asked for the adoption of severe legal measures against those violating the law.

Even the representatives of the National Peasants Party—I can see that they have arrived here—dissociated themselves from these actions. At this morning's meeting their representatives in the Executive Bureau condemned and dissociated themselves from these actions.

Consequently, one should not mistake the parties and their representatives for the hooligans that operated last night. We value the politicians who pledge to defend order in the country and to ensure that political confrontations of ideas in this pre-electoral period take place in a civilized manner.

Therefore, I call upon you to show understanding for this. [applause]

Vice President Minzatu on 18 Feb Incidents*AU1902203090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1939 GMT 19 Feb 90*

["Views by Members of the National Unity Provisional Council's Executive Bureau"—ROMPRES headline]

[Excerpts] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/2/1990—After the Monday, February 19 extraordinary meeting of the Executive Bureau of the National Unity Provisional Council (PNUC), several members of the body made statements to the ROMPRES news agency in connection with the previous day's demonstration in Bucharest and with their meeting. [passage omitted]

Ion Minzatu, vice-president of the PNUC Executive Bureau, president of the Republican Party: "The members of the Executive Bureau unanimously decided to draft a bill soon that should from now on firmly and severely prevent any hooliganic act, any vandalism that might be aimed against the state institutions, against parties and other headquarters as also against private residences."

Referring to the general activity of the PNUC executive office, the respondent considered that both he and his colleagues from other parties, who had been commissioned to represent broad national interests there, did their duty to the full. "We are content with the way how the works of this Executive Bureau proceeded in connection with unwanted events that will obviously be handled by the judiciary." [passage omitted]

PNUC Session Communique on Incidents*AU2002001990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2319 GMT 20 Feb 90*

["Communique"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/2/1990—The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met on 19 February 1990 to discuss aspects of the demonstration in Victory Square the previous day.

The facts showed that during the demonstration which was unauthorized a small number of specially prepared participants resorted to violence. They used force to get into the Government and Foreign Affairs Ministry headquarters where they committed acts of vandalism and maltreated government representatives and military guards on duty. More than 30 military and policemen were wounded. Abstaining from using their arms, the military and police tried to do their duty without resorting to violence themselves. The building was damaged, official acts were destroyed and lost, automobiles were wrecked and part of the furniture inside the building was also damaged.

The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council disapproved of such acts. During that outburst

of uncivilised conduct, of vandalism, there were hot-headed adventurers who put before higher ranking military coordinating the defence of the government headquarters the reckless idea of military power hastily formed under pressure from unruly individuals which met with a firm refusal.

In consideration of the facts, the Executive Bureau asked the relevant state bodies to investigate thoroughly and without delay the exact circumstances of the aggression committed on 18 February against government institutions and to establish who was behind those obvious provocations. It was also established that all those proved to be guilty be brought in court and get the punishment they deserve.

To prevent further acts of hooliganism and violence, a decree-law was decided to be issued which should institute practical sure measures to efficiently protect state organs, public institutions, the offices of all political parties and organizations ensure public quiet and the rule of law, a climate of safety and free democratic expression. Public order bodies were also asked to show promptness and determination in enforcing the legal regulations on the organization of public meetings and demonstrations to prevent any attempts of political destabilization.

PNUC Members on 18 Feb Incidents*AU1902184490 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Statements by Toma George Maiorescu, Corneliu Manescu, Radu Campeanu, and Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, members of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council, in connection with 18 February incidents in Bucharest; in Bucharest 19 February—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met today to examine events that took place yesterday, 18 February, in Bucharest's Victory Square. At the end of the discussions, our reporters interviewed several PNUC members, who made statements in this regard.

Mr. Toma George Maiorescu [president of the Ecological Party] said the following about the session proceedings:

[Begin Maiorescu recording] One should emphasize that the situation is quiet and calm in the country. However, what is happening in Bucharest is beginning to have an effect in the provinces; it contributes to destabilization and prevents the continuation of the stability initiated by the latest PNUC plenary session, when the PNUC Executive Bureau was set up. This Executive Bureau can guarantee our future social, political, and economic stability, because it relies on the goodwill and good faith of the representatives of the political power in our country. [end recording]

[Announcer] In connection with the problems discussed, Mr. Corneliu Manescu [former minister of foreign affairs] made the following statement:

[Begin recording] [Manescu] I can say that we had a constructive meeting, which allows us to continue our useful work until the elections.

[Reporter] What steps should be taken, in your opinion, to ensure the commendable continuation of the democratic process begun in Romania and a happy end for the Romanian people?

[Manescu] There is no doubt that one should urgently strive to ensure better information for the people. There are aspects of the activity of the political power and the government—both of which are provisional—which can be assessed as positive. However, very little is known about that. Consequently, a prerequisite for a better atmosphere is to disseminate information about this activity. The press can play a vital role in this respect. As a matter of fact, I do not think that the Romanian press has ever been read so avidly as it is these days. Of course, there is also the matter of professionalism, consciousness, and responsibility, which all journalists should have. We should not be alarmed by the fact that certain exaggerations exist. In all spheres of activity, in this entire post-revolutionary process, there are certain things that one should learn and master properly. In this respect, I have already pointed out the important role that can be played by the information media and the press. [end recording]

[Announcer] Answering our reporters' questions about the PNUC session proceedings, Mr. Radu Campeanu [president of the National Liberal Party] said:

[Begin recording] [Campeanu] Generally speaking, I am pleased with this session. We obviously discussed the incidents that took place yesterday. All of us took the common position of condemning the acts of vandalism, and we are currently putting together a communique which will reflect this attitude. We believe that such brutal and violent acts—let us call them what they really are—can only compromise the future of Romanian democracy. We do not know who is behind the perpetrators of this aggression. As far as I am concerned, I consider there to have been two demonstrations in the square. One proceeded in a civilized manner and asked for two things that I agree with, namely the elimination of the effects of the communist system and the dismantling of the security forces. I endorse these two requests and demands. However, these demands do not justify such acts as breaking windows to get inside the Council's headquarters. In my opinion, these acts of vandalism and hooliganism should be severely punished. I said that and demanded it. What is more, I even asked that a serious investigation should begin to find out who was behind such acts. The source of these actions is quite mysterious. I am baffled, and I would like to find out who can be interested now in compromising the Romanian nation, in general, and the ever developing idea of

Romanian democracy, in particular. All these acts, which are acts of violence, are totally unjustified in my opinion.

[Reporter] I would like to ask you another thing. Do you agree with what was said yesterday, namely, that you thought that this demonstration was legally organized?

[Campeanu] No, it is obvious that this demonstration was not legal. However, I would like to emphasize that it had no connection with the National Liberal Party. We had nothing to do with the organization of this demonstration, in spite of rumors circulating two days in advance of this demonstration—rumors to the effect that we would be among the participants. We did not participate. In any event, I repeat, we had nothing to do with this. From what I could see on the television, because I was not there, this demonstration seemed to proceed in a civilized and orderly manner, except for these groups of terrorists, who simply attacked the PNUC building and ran amok there—they broke things, caused damage, and hurt soldiers, according to what I was told. As far as I am concerned, I strongly demand that they should be brought to justice.

[Reporter] Would you like to elaborate on this?

[Campeanu] These people are currently the object of an inquiry. Those who were caught inside—I believe their number is 60 to 70 persons—are currently being investigated. However, they are only small fry. The important thing is to find the one who sent them there. We would certainly like to know who. [end recording]

[Announcer] Invited to attend the session, Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu made the following statement to our reporters:

[Begin recording] [reporter] In a few words, Mr. National Defense Minister, what is your opinion about yesterday's demonstration? What steps should be taken, in your opinion, to ensure the smooth development of a real process of democratization and what is the role and place of the Army in the current political process?

[Stanculescu] In connection with yesterday's demonstration in front of the palace of the Government and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I must emphasize that I hoped and expected it to proceed in a civilized manner. In spite of all this, we took supplementary steps to strengthen the guard there, on the basis of certain information received. Indeed, the events that took place there showed that—while the majority of the citizens gathered in the square demonstrated peacefully and sincerely for certain claims—a shock group of some 200 to 300 people, armed with blunt offensive objects, stormed the guards and even hurt certain soldiers and cadres. Using fire escape stairways and mounting ladders and other [words indistinct], they made their way, illegally and aggressively, into an important governmental institution, namely the Romanian Government.

In these circumstances, we had to bring in additional troops to help the forces initially deployed there. Within one and a half hours, we doubled their number. Meanwhile, acts of vandalism took place inside the building. We recorded these incidents, thanks to the rapid intervention of the military television. Thus, we have proof of the violence, lack of civilized behavior, and the destructive aims of those who entered the building. They were using slogans that are no longer tolerated in the new circumstances, by any PNUC members, as was also emphasized at today's meeting of the PNUC Bureau. I am referring to the fact that, in order to provoke destabilization, those people were demanding something else—namely the establishment of a military government—and were calling upon certain army cadres, including generals of (?hostile) groups, whom they wanted to come and declare that they accept taking power. However, this is totally out of the question now, when the Army is at the disposal of the state and the state leaders, in order to ensure full order, normal living conditions, and a normal social, political, and economical activity of all parties, within the framework of a political pluralism which we support.

[Reporter] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Police Chief Views 18 Feb Incidents

*AU1902201590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1926 GMT 19 Feb 90*

["More Than One Hundred Persons Detained by Police After Sunday Demonstration in Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/2/1990—Speaking at a press conference today on the Sunday 18 February demonstration in Bucharest's Victory Square, police chief Colonel General Jean Moldovan, first deputy minister of the interior, said: "The demonstration which was peaceful in the beginning, became incendiary after manifestoes were spread from a Dacia family car with a provincial test license plate. The slogans in the manifestoes incited the people who began to demonstrate against the government and the National Salvation Front.

The head of the General Police Inspectorate showed journalists pictures of individuals who were referred to as queer-looking who broke ground floor windows, adding that more than one thousand persons got into the government headquarters in that way. Of them, Colonel General Moldovan said, 102 are now in police custody. Two of them made statements which make us infer that the demonstrators were manipulated, since they admitted to having accepted 300 lei to get into the government headquarters, the police chief said. Others were given foreign cigarette packages in exchange for joining the action.

The government headquarters were attacked at a time when nearly 3,000 demonstrators filled the square. Many of the persons who attacked the building were drunk, the

police chief said. Very many of the demonstrators eventually dissociated themselves from the acts of vandalism and hooliganism and started quitting the square where a few hundred demonstrators remained by 8.00 p.m. [1800 GMT]. The toll of the wounded is put at 26, six of which are policemen, Colonel General Moldovan added.

Demonstrations were staged, Monday, in the capital of Romania and many provincial towns and cities Cluj, Brasov, Turda, Bistrita, in the mining centres in Jiu Valley in protest to the previous-day ransacking of the government building in Victory Square, said General Dumitru Penciu, chief of staff of the General Police Inspectorate.

At ICSIM [expansion unknown] factory Bucharest, one of the attackers of the deputy prime minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu was identified and is now in police custody, General Penciu said.

2 Soldiers Reported Dead, Voiculescu Wounded

*AU1902082390 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] According to unofficial reports, two soldiers who were wounded in last night's demonstrations in Bucharest have died. They were killed in clashes with demonstrations in front of the central government building. A total of 20 uniformed soldiers were wounded.

The wounded also included Gelu Voican Voiculescu, head of government [title as heard]. He assessed the demonstrations as an attempt to bring down the government with the aim of destabilizing the country and causing chaos.

The demonstrators attempted to push into the government building, where a group of the most aggressive demonstrators were to be found. It is thought that at that moment more than 5,000 Bucharest people were in the square.

Some 50 Soldiers Said Injured in Bucharest Unrest

*AU1902093090 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0900 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] In connection with yesterday's incidents at the government headquarters in Victory Square, military physician Lieutenant Major Traian Marinescu, who gave medical assistance to troops in that area, specified that five members of the military have been hospitalized thus far as a result of injuries sustained at the hands of those who had forced their way into the building.

Medical assistance was also required at the medical points in the palace compound for some 50 soldiers, who had received lesser injuries from broken windows, from objects that were thrown at them, or from being hit by bars, clubs, or other hard objects.

Appeal to Miners Not To Come to Bucharest

*AU1902093490 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0923 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] is holding a session at this hour. The bureau has been informed that approximately 3,000 miners from Petrosani intend to come to Bucharest, believing that what happened on 18 February at the government headquarters is not tolerable.

Our radio station has been asked by the Executive Bureau to call on the Petrosani miners not to come to Bucharest because the situation in the capital is under control.

The Executive Bureau of the PNUC and the Romanian Government are not threatened.

Iliescu Addresses Miners

*AU2002000190 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2000 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Report on address by Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, to Jiu Valley miners in Bucharest's Victory Square on 19 February—Recorded]

[Text] Many of you were here on 29 January. Some of us were accused of provoking you; that we had called you and put you on the road. Neither then nor now, as you well know, did anyone ask you to come.

You became familiar with the building then and you can see what it looks like today after these acts of vandalism. Here in front of you there is a great number of the members of the Bureau and Provisional National Unity Council, representatives of several parties, which today are part, together with us, of this Council of National Unity.

What caused the indignation of all of us, including the indignation of the PNUC members, is the fact that this is happening precisely in such a political moment, when the representatives of all political formations have reached consensus and understanding, and have worked out a platform of cooperation and collaboration within this PNUC. As you know, in the first session there were some confrontations, with great differences of opinion, well, with stormy discussions, while in the second meeting, within a more orderly framework, we elected an executive body in the Bureau, which, I want to tell you, has held two meetings so far, and is working under normal conditions of understanding and civilized cooperation as responsible political people, who, through joint efforts, want to ensure stability in the country and a civilized work climate; the restoration of the country, the national economy, and the political activity; and who want to ensure normal conditions for the holding of free elections in our country, when the people can have their say on the option they choose. The people are sovereign,

they must decide which people, which political formations, should be granted a mandate by the country to lead the country's destiny in the future.

From this viewpoint, there is full understanding within the Council and its Executive Bureau and, as you can see, we have come here in solidarity to this meeting with you, with the representatives of the miners, on the one hand, to express thanks for your generous proof of solidarity with the country's leadership and to assure you that as far as the representatives of the political forces are concerned that are participating in the PNUC, we will do all we can to restore order and give the necessary riposte to these irresponsible elements, and to carefully investigate what has happened. Let us call to account the guilty ones who have committed such acts of violence, which are intolerable in a civilized state. They must account for their deeds before the country's law. Let us search for those who back these people, because obviously some of them were maneuvered. Those of you who watched the television program were able to see for yourselves what some of them looked like. They are people without a high level of culture, and it is clear that they were recruited, they were paid, they were incited and maneuvered into such irresponsible actions.

Among other things, here in Bucharest I found some material on behalf of some organizations of the former Iron Guards that are trying to enter the country, fascist organizations using the language of the late thirties, full of hatred, which call for the establishment, as they call it, of a rightist national military government. Thus they want a forceful overthrow of the current leadership. This is the substance of this call to the whole Romanian nation, as they term it, and it is signed by some individual by the name of Constantin Burlacu, president of the League of National Defense, and he even gives his address in Brooklyn, New York in the United States. He sent this material, this manifesto, by mail to be distributed in the country in order to incite unskilled and irresponsible elements to such acts of undermining our country's stability and creating panic, tension, and disquiet in the country and to make this country impossible to govern. This is what the Iron Guards have always been like. They were people who, without any scruples, called for the use of force, for assassinations, and who are capable of anything. And now they want to resume the same methods with which they acted in the thirties.

And this is what they actually say: Be strong and brave. Victory is yours, victory of the acolytes here and of a rightist national military government. This is the essence of the appeal of this so-called committee, of this Burlacu who, in fact, in a review which he also sends to our country, eulogizes Captain Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the former commander of the Iron Guards movement in Romania, and then presents the manifesto of the thirties addressed to the Iron Guards by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu.

We presume that such circles, which are financed from outside as you can see, are probably inspired by other

such foreign agencies and by obviously antirevolutionary circles in our country which want to destabilize the situation. They have recruited all these irresponsible people. Some of them have even said they were paid and they committed the acts.

I want to tell you that several representatives of the political parties have told me they have distanced themselves from such actions, have condemned them, and all of them feel responsible—responsible in solidarity—for the joint action to give a riposte to these elements.

This morning, at the Bureau meeting, we discussed working out a normative act, a decree-law that will give a riposte to such elements and ensure measures to consolidate the strength of our order-keeping bodies from this viewpoint in order to take severe measures against those who try to attack our security, public institutions, party headquarters, and our citizens.

In this sense, we will take appropriate measures. I wanted to brief you about all these things and tell you who is at my side in front of you.

We are waiting to hear your opinions. I understand that you have been granted a mandate, that you have come as delegates of the mining units in the Jiu Valley.

Militaru Resigns; Stanculescu Appointed

*AU1602191790 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1900 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Communique:

Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], accepted Army General Nicolae Militaru's resignation as minister of national defense.

General Nicolae Militaru played an outstanding role in the December 1989 revolution. Until the defeat of the resistance from terrorist forces supporting the former Ceausescu dictatorship in Romania, he ensured the coordination and balance of military operations to eliminate the resistance shown by these forces.

In the last years of the Ceausescu dictatorship, he was one of the military cadres who tried to organize the Army's resistance against the dictator. In spite of all this, some of the methods and measures adopted by the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense caused dissatisfaction among the Army and contributed to the emergence of a state of tension which could have been avoided.

The PNUC president appointed Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu as minister of national defense.

New Defense Minister Sworn In

*AU1702164290 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1600 GMT 17 Feb 90*

[Text] The new minister of national defense, Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, was sworn in

today. The ceremony took place in the Romanian Parliament Hall in the presence of military cadres from the Bucharest Garrison.

On this occasion, Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, emphasized that the Army was the shield of hope during the hot days when the dictatorship was overthrown and provided an element of certitude for the popular masses. The Army must remain the stabilizing factor in national life and a source of moral support, stability, and confidence for Romania's citizens.

The new minister of national defense assured the Romanian people that the Army will do its duty, and those who have created the revolution should be convinced that the Army is with them.

There were counterinformation officers eager to defend the Ceausescu dictatorship. They persecuted Army cadres holding anti-Ceausescu views, terrorized them, and made their contribution to promoting cadres on the basis of criteria other than those of work and competence. During the revolution, these officers intimidated the military cadres and conscripts and committed acts of diversion to compromise the Army. These people should be placed in reserve.

The Army activists of the former Communist Party [words indistinct] should be placed in reserve.

The appointment of a commission that should examine the justification of promotions to higher ranks and positions of certain military cadres from the angle of personal merits before and during the revolution.

The commanders who are guilty of violating the promotion criteria according to merit and competence, thus creating dissatisfaction or even destabilization, should be called to account. For cadres who were promoted without having any merits, measures have to be taken [words indistinct].

Officers dealing with cadres in commands and units should be confirmed in their position with the agreement of the given units in which they are active.

A public explanation of the criteria of promoting Colonel (?Lazar), the former chief of the Militia of Dolj County, to a higher rank and position.

Stanculescu TV Statement

*AU1802204590 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 90*

[Statement by National Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu on Romanian TV on 18 February—read by announcer]

[Text] Through the kindness of the Romanian Free Television, I want to address all the military—from soldier to general—and all Romanian Army personnel.

I am aware that in the position with which I am entrusted, I will be able to solve the great problems in the Army only with everyone's realistic support. In the current complex situation in Romania, we have to demonstrate patriotic spirit and unity of action, so that the Army will constitute a powerful element of stability and trust for all Romanian citizens.

You may rest assured that we are taking the necessary and possible measures under the current social circumstances so that the Army will fulfill the mission entrusted to it by the people, and so that it will honor the memory of those who sacrificed their lives for the victory of the December 1989 revolution.

In all units and detachments, there is real concern with the justified demands of military cadres and conscripts; namely, to ensure that people may express their thoughts freely and to take actions to create humane living conditions in order to improve the standard of living of the Army, and to resolve their personal and working requirements.

I want to express the conviction that the Army will understand the major imperatives of the current stage and that all military will support us, so that together we will be able to honor the trust bestowed on us by the people.

We will consistently promote competence, trust, and dialogue in identifying and solving all problems of the Army. We propose to establish a modern and efficient Army based on functional, civilized, and statutory relations, which will permit the optimal training of soldiers and will ensure the defensive capability and an improvement of the quality of life of the Army in accordance with the requirements of a democratic society.

I have confidence in the capability of the Army to assume, with responsibility and professionalism, its duties in the process of the functional restructuring of the Army.

I ask all soldiers to act with responsibility toward their own training, to trust their commanders, and to fulfill the mission entrusted to them by the people with dignity and honor.

The achievement of these goals is possible only in conditions of confidence, discipline, lucidity, cooperation, and the full involvement of all personnel. I want this appeal to be brought to the attention of all Army personnel and that action be taken to preserve a realistic climate of work, order, and discipline in each unit and detachment and in all places where soldiers are fulfilling their mission.

Upon the request of a group of cadres from the military units 01083, 01046, 01043, 01662, 01062, and 01081 from Craiova, with whom I met this morning—cadres who were not familiar with the measures that have been taken by the leadership, by the president, and with my appointment as minister of national defense—I would like to present their appeal and to assure them that, together with the relevant

bodies, we will take action to solve all the problems broached as soon as possible.

The following is the appeal:

We agree with the appeal to the president of the Provisional National Unity Council submitted on 12 February 1990 on Romanian Free Television by the representatives of several military units of the Romanian Army.

In addition to this, we propose the following:

Placing in reserve and, as the case may be, the trial of all officers appointed by the Ceausescu dictatorship, who held responsible positions and were part of the higher bodies of the former Romanian Communist Party and who were guilty of the communist indoctrination of the Army, creating [word indistinct] among its ranks during the revolution, for having an attitude of tolerance toward and facilitating terrorist actions in the country.

The establishing of a government commission that should investigate and establish who is guilty of covering up terrorist actions in Craiova, the Army's struggle against the terrorists, and the release of captured terrorist elements.

The establishment and calling to account of the people who are morally and ethically compromised in promoting and selecting cadres on the basis of Ceausescu-like criteria, such as kinship and material advantage, without bearing in mind work and competence.

Stanculescu's News Conference

AU1902193690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1621 GMT 19 Feb 90

["The New Minister of Defence: What Does He Expect To Do, What Is He Expected To Do?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/2/1990—Victor Atanasie Stanculescu said in his first news conference that all territorial commands had assured him "of their attachment to and respect for the decision of the current state leadership" to appoint him minister of national defence.

Referring to some Romanian Army officers' recent action of protest, Victor Stanculescu stated that he shared "not only those standpoints but also other ones, and not only the officers' but also the rank and file's, that too, had justified claims."

To his mind, "for the Army to remain the country's army, political pluralism should be taken into account.... We should bear in mind that Romania takes a new direction in order to become a European Romania. Every action should be reconsidered in this very wide framework," the new minister of defence said.

As for the current status of the former Securitate, Victor Stanculescu mentioned that it "no longer exists as a notion. The Army dismantled it in point of organization and as for the presence of some people, the Army should be fully trusted that it will never allow a monster like the former institution to emerge again."

Victor Stanculescu also stated that other cadre changes too would be made in the Army and guaranteed that the Army would "not be involved in political games."

He opined that "it is up to the prosecutor's office and justice bodies, that are independent" to sue the military discredited during the revolution.

Victor Stanculescu promises to run the Ministry of National Defence in a way consisting of "contacts with the people, with more optimism and a smiling face and more care for every person, for man's dignity, for democratization also of the Army."

Petre Mihai Bacanu though reproachingly notes in daily ROMANIA LIBERA that apart from the militia officer tried in Sibiu for attempted murder, no other person has been sued so far for terrorism, but only for abetting genocide and for assisting the lawbreaker, the defendants being Securitate and militia cadres who ... did not shoot at the crowd, nor did they order their subordinates to do so." [no opening quote as received]

So, two months after the triumph of the revolution, Petre Mihai Bacanu notes, those who killed thousands of people all over the country are still at large. "Why this indefinite delay in suing those who did the genocide with their own hands? They cannot be hidden indefinitely through transfer from one ministry to another" wonders the editor.

Prime Minister Downplays Army Unrest

AU1802160690 Paris AFP in English
1550 GMT 18 Feb 90

[By Claudine Canetti]

[Text] Paris, Feb 18 (AFP)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman on Sunday played down unrest in the Romanian Army, saying a stable political consensus existed in his country following the resignation of the defense minister.

(In Bucharest Sunday, thousands of people demonstrated outside the provisional government's headquarters, calling on President Ion Iliescu to step down.)

"In Western countries, which are stable, differences within the Army appear to be something enormous", but in Romania, recent events were "a natural prolongation of the revolution", Mr. Roman told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE on the second day of a visit to France.

Recent protests by military officers were "more a way of saying that in the Army, too, there is a certain degree of democratisation", he said.

However Mr. Roman did not think the situation was "anything to be concerned about".

General Nicolae Militaru quit as defense chief Friday after four days of protests by Romanian officers. Demonstrators sought the general's dismissal over his alleged ties to executed former communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu.

As for the Bucharest government, criticised for including many other officials of the toppled regime, Mr. Roman said he believed there was "a political structure of consensus" which in his opinion was "stable".

This was "because there is participation by all the political groups that have appeared on the Romanian scene since the revolution".

Rebutting criticism that many present rulers were former communist party veterans, he stressed that more former communists had joined other parties than the ruling team.

Even if Romania's new rulers were communists, at the time of the Ceausescu dictatorship "to be a party member often meant having the power...to protect people", Mr. Roman said.

Citing himself as an example, Mr. Roman said he never could have become a teacher or department head "if I hadn't been a party member", but "in those positions I could fight more effectively the dismantling of teaching and research".

Of the leading former Romanian dissident Doina Cornea, Mr. Roman said he believed her criticism of the government was "unjust". He accused her of voicing "untruths" about interim president Ion Iliescu's personality.

Turning to the problem of Romania's ethnic groups, the prime minister pledged that the authorities in Bucharest would "never give in to nationalist pressures, whether they be Romanian or Hungarian".

He recalled that the government had refused to give in to "demands for separate Romanian and Hungarian-language schools".

Things "should work themselves out by themselves, in accordance with the students' wishes, but not by decree handed down from on high".

However he said he hoped ethnic Germans, many of whom have been leaving for West Germany, would remain in Romania.

As for Romanian Moldavia and the Soviet Republic of Moldavia, Mr. Petre said relations were "developing very quickly, there are direct exchanges between the two populations. Things are going very well, and for the moment there is no movement making demands".

Mr. Roman, who met with French President Francois Mitterrand shortly after arriving in Paris Saturday, was to dine privately with him Sunday night.

He told AFP he had invited Mr. Mitterrand to visit Romania and hoped the trip would take place "in the near future".

Also Sunday, Mr. Roman was to meet French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, Laurent Fabius, speaker of the National Assembly, and Culture Minister Jacques Lang.

Demonstrations, Reaction Continue in Kosovo

Militia Attacked in Podujevo

AU1602160290 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Excerpts] Bad news is coming from Podujevo again. A rather large group of aggressive demonstrators attacked members of the combined militia unit in the center of Podujevo at about noon. After the attack, the militia withdrew without intervening and went to the front of the building of the communal Internal Affairs Secretariat. No injuries have been reported. Afterwards, a large group of Albanians walked along the streets of Podujevo shouting the slogan: Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia.

Ethnic Albanian employees of the Javor, 29 November, and [name indistinct] factories in Podujevo are not working again today. Workers from the Urosevac seamed pipes factory and Minex Organization are still on strike, too. Miners on the first shift at the Kishica and Novo Brdo mines and the Badovac and Ajvalija strip mines refused to go to work today. [passage omitted]

Kosovo alternative groups have spoken up again. It was stated at the news conference today that the Kosovo Democratic Alliance accuses the provincial committee of the League of Communists and the provincial conference of the Socialist Alliance of seeing the Kosovo situation only from the angle of the threat to the Serbian and Montenegrin population. The leaders of the Democratic Alliance protest particularly harshly against the stances that Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, voiced in Pristina the day before yesterday. It is said in the announcement that Pancevski's negative attitude toward issues concerning Kosovo and Albanians is well known. They accuse the president of the Yugoslav Communists of encouraging the tendencies toward additional aggravation and repression and of blocking the democratization process. In our opinion, the leaders of the Democratic Alliance say, Pancevski has not been given the authority by the forum that he would like to represent for his approach to the Kosovo problems, an approach very much like that of an unprincipled coalition [referring to Vasil Tupurkovski's statement at the 17th party plenum in October 1988].

Kosovo Democrats are again accusing all those people who advocate respect for Yugoslavia's statehood in this part of the country. They have again found culprits for the situation in Kosovo in the state and its organs. As usual, not a word about Albanian separatism was said, as if it did not exist at all.

Situation in Schools 'Chaotic'

LD1602175290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—The situation in Kosovo schools is increasingly chaotic. The boycott of Albanian language lessons was more extensive than in previous days. Instead of being at school, students were walking around the streets and occasionally raised their arms in "V" signs; some visited the graves of those killed in the recent demonstrations.

The most critical situation is still in Podujevo. In this town all elementary and secondary schools holding lessons in the Albanian language did not open; the number of Serbian and Montenegrin children is negligible anyway. Young Albanians gathered in the town center, where more than 1,000 of them stood quietly for a whole hour. Afterward they dispersed peacefully. In this town, Albanians did not work in three enterprises: the 29 November trade organization, the Fapol steel fittings factory, which the Slovene economy built with joint investments, and the Javor forestry commission.

Most secondary schools did not open in Pristina either. Immediately this morning, Albanian secondary school students walked out from lessons, and, afterward some students attending lessons in Serbo-Croat boldly walked out of lessons. Elementary school pupils also walked out of lessons, and even very young children could be seen raising their arms in "V" signs. A group of Albanian pupils from the Vladimir Ilich Lenin school threw stones on their colleagues attending lessons in Serbo-Croat.

Lessons should have started today at Pristina University, but, in keeping with the last night's ultimatum from the students, it has not been held in the Albanian language. There were no lessons in the teacher training school in Prizren and the secondary technological center in this town, or, in Lipljan, Vitin, Gnjilane, and other places.

In Titova Mitrovica, a mass boycott of lessons, followed by a march through the town in the afternoon, turned into demonstrations. The security organs, facing the demonstrators, stood for a long time without intervening although the 300 demonstrators showered them with abuse and even stones; only later did they use teargas.

Along the main highway between Titova Mitrovica and Pristina groups of young men and girls were seen to have stopped cars and harassed their passengers.

Otherwise, all the road routes in the province are open. Most enterprises and institutions are operating. Nevertheless, the political strike in the Urosevac seamless pipes factory is continuing. The Albanians employed at the exotic products factory have also joined this strike. A certain number of miners declined to work in the mines of Kishica and Novo Brdo. [passage omitted: All this is to increase the pressure on the Kosovo leadership]

Pec Students Protest; Situation 'Tense'

LD1602175690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Pec, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Several hundred pupils of Albanian nationality, attending the four centers of secondary education in the municipality of Pec, abandoned their classrooms at about 0900 and later marched through the center of the town showing "V" signs.

The participants in this column proceeded toward the town's cemetery to pay tribute to a demonstrator killed recently.

Gatherings and tributes were reported today in many villages in Pec municipality, but they were by and large conducted peacefully and without excesses.

At noon, however, a group of 200 individuals, mostly in their early teens, erected a barricade near the railway station behind which they shouted hostile slogans favoring Albanian nationalism and separatism and threw stones at the security organs. The militia have dispersed this group by teargas but the demonstrators organized themselves again at about 1400 in the district of Kapesnica where over 500 masked and highly aggressive demonstrators, shielded by a barricade, stoned members of the security forces.

The demonstrators lit a fire near the approach to Kapesnica which denied access to the members of the security forces.

The situation in the afternoon is still extremely tense and critical.

Albanians Demonstrate in Gnjilane

LD1602183190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Gnjilane, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Albanian nationalists and separatists also made their presence felt today in Gnjilane, but with changed tactics in their method of demonstrating. They were not violent as in the past few days but passed through the town with their fingers raised in the form of the letter "V", and shouted the slogans "Democracy, democracy."

The demonstrations began in the early morning, reaching a climax about noon, when groups of demonstrators totalling about 2,000, made their way into the town center from all sides: they included primary and secondary schoolchildren, as well as adults who march along the main street with arms raised and set off towards the cemetery. The crowd they created hindered not only the traffic and the movement of passersby, but also the departure of Serbian and Montenegrin women to celebrations in connection with All Souls' Day.

Afterwards the demonstrators again returned toward the town center at about 1300. When the security organs warned them over loudspeakers to disperse, the demonstrators pushed the children who had been sitting in

front of the building of the pedagogical institute into the first rows and blocked traffic on Gnjilane's main street. The blockade lasted about 30 minutes. When warned by the organs of the police to disperse, the demonstrators set off in the direction of the sports hall and let it be known that they would express their demands there.

16 Feb Events Described

AU1602204790

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 16 February begins its regular newscast with a 15-minute bloc of telephone dispatches from correspondents reporting on the situation in various Kosovo communes.

The announcer introduces these reports saying: "Despite the intensive political activity in the province, the general situation is not being stabilized. Lessons were again boycotted in all primary and secondary schools and students again took to the streets of various cities, making a 'V' sign with their fingers. The working process was also interrupted in a number of factories. According to the information reaching us from various communes, the main demand of schoolchildren and students concerns their security on the way to and from their schools." After citing an appeal by education authorities to pupils, parents, and teachers to ensure the normal functioning of schools, the announcer goes on to say: "The most severe situation is reported from Pec, where one citizen was killed and some others were injured."

This is followed by an announcer-read report of the situation in Pec, stating that: "Pupils of the Albanian nationality boycotted lessons, some of them going into the streets and making a 'V' sign with their fingers." The announcer also says that schoolchildren went to the graves of victims killed in recent demonstrations to pay homage. One group of pupils barricaded a street during the afternoon, but were dispersed by the militia, which used tear gas. The announcer says: "Osman Voksi was killed in front of his house and our correspondent [name indistinct] Berisha says that other people were also injured."

This announcer-read introductory passage is followed by telephone reports from correspondents in various communes. A report from Podujevo mentions school boycotts and resignations from the League of Communists (LC).

The next report is from Suva Reka, and the correspondent says: "It is not possible to say that the situation is good." He goes on to mention school boycotts and meetings of local authorities to determine measures to be adopted. He also mentions resignations from the LC and a meeting of the local trade union organizations, where delegates "expressed the indignation of the workers of the Balkan rubber enterprise with the recent assessment of the provincial Trade Unions Council meeting, at which this enterprise was labelled as a center of nationalists."

In Urosevac, according to another telephone dispatch, "the political and security situation continues to be severe and complicated due to the continuing work stoppages" in several factories, some of which have been paralyzed for three weeks. Lessons were again boycotted in all primary schools in the city and surrounding area. The local authorities have been holding meetings.

Similar reports follow from the communes of Prizren, Kacanik, Mitrovica, Malisevo, and Gnjilane, where schoolchildren are said to have been demonstrating, making the "V" sign, and shouting: Freedom, Democracy. Authorities have been meeting in both communes and the reports also mention more cases of resignations from the LC. Pupils are also said to have staged a sit-down strike in Gnjilane, supporting the demands presented recently by Pristina University students. The report from Mitrovica says that the militia used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators and that firing was heard, "although there are no reports about victims." Various protests about mistreatment of citizens by the militia are also mentioned in some of these reports.

Albanian Killed in Pec Demonstration

LD1602215790 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our reporter Vladimir Desnica reports on the situation in Kosovo where more demonstrations and casualties occurred today:

[Desnica] There were casualties again in Kosovo today. In Pec's suburb of Kapesnica an Albanian, Osman Voksi, was killed in today's demonstrations while a certain number of people were injured. There were also demonstrations in Podujevo, Gnjilane, Malisevo, Titova Mitrovica, Vucitrn and Kacanik. [passage omitted]

Several Thousand Albanians Protest

LD1702142190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—At around midday today, Albanian citizens again gathered and demonstrated peacefully in Pec, Vucitrn, Podujevo, and Urosevac.

In the center of Podujevo, about 5,000 gathered. In Vucitrn, there were about 2,000 Albanians in front of the cultural center. About 10,000 Albanian citizens formed a procession through the town of Pec to the house of Albanian Osman Voksi, who died in last night's demonstrations, to pay their respect to their fellow citizen.

There also was an attempt to rally and demonstrate in Urosevac. Today is market day in all these Kosovo towns, and there are many people around. Hence, there are attempts to incite them to demonstrate and protest.

Tension Said Rising

AU1702164090 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] Tension is rising in Kosovo. Albanian separatists are launching another offensive. Demonstrations occurred in several Kosovo towns today. A group of about 500 Albanians demonstrated at about 1230 [1130 GMT] in the center of Urosevac. They were joined by a large number of passers-by, but the militia used tear gas and quickly dispersed the demonstrators, driving them toward Nerodimlje and Plesina. The road leading from Urosevac to these villages is still blocked.

In Pec at about 1100, some 15,000 Albanians marched through the town, paying respect to Osman Voksi, aged 60, who was killed yesterday. He lost his life under mysterious circumstances during demonstrations in the Kapesnica suburb of Pec. Official organs assert that the militia did not use firearms in Pec last night, and a statement on this case is expected.

In Podujevo, about 15,000 Albanians who had gathered in the center of the town dispersed peacefully. No slogans were shouted and the militia did not intervene.

There were gatherings and attempted demonstrations in Vucitrn, Djakovica, and on several occasions on the outskirts of Pristina today.

The basic characteristic of the disorders yesterday and today is a pronounced aggressiveness by the demonstrators against the militiamen. This is shown by the fact that 24 militiamen were injured by stones thrown during demonstrations in Titova Mitrovica yesterday. Although the militia holds back, it is obvious that the Albanian separatists try to provoke repressive measures by the authorities' organs and cause great discontent among the people.

The road between Titova Mitrovica and Rozaj was cut for six hours last evening because demonstrators put up barricades of stones and burning tires.

Attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins have also become more frequent. A group of secondary school students, running away from lessons the day before yesterday, threw stones at houses of Serbs and Montenegrins in the village of Gorazdevac. They continued to run amok at the Orthodox cemetery in the village, desecrating tombstones, which caused particular indignation among the region's Serbian and Montenegrin people.

Militia Disperses Urosevac Protesters

LD1702164490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Albanians in Kosovo staged numerous gatherings and mostly peaceful demonstrations again today, but there also were provocations on a mass scale aimed against the security forces.

These took place in Pec, Vucitrn, Podujevo, Urosevac, and Djakovica, while in Pristina there were only sporadic gatherings, which did not evolve into mass ones.

The largest, although quiet demonstrations were in Pec, where about 10,000 citizens of Albanian nationality marched through the town center, heading for the home of their fellow townsman Osman Voksi, who was killed yesterday, to pay tribute to him. In Podujevo, several thousand citizens of Albanian nationality gathered in the town center but dispersed after listening to a few speeches. About 2,000 people demonstrated in a similar way in Vucitrn, as well. In Urosevac, the militia was forced to disperse the demonstrators toward the outskirts of the town using teargas and to pursue them for some time.

In yesterday's and today's gatherings, the security forces were provoked to a higher degree than during the preceding days, provocations ranging from open attacks with stones to verbal abuse. In the Titova Mitrovica area alone 24 militiamen were injured while the arrival of the militia and its vehicles was hailed in all the larger towns with hands raised in the victory sign. [passage omitted on demonstrators blocking the Titova Mitrovica-Rozaj road for six hours yesterday.]

Pec Citizens Protest Albanian's Death

*AU1702204790 Pristina Domestic Service
in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 90*

[Sejdi Berisa report from Pec]

[Text] A spontaneous meeting of Albanian citizens was held at the Cultural Center in the (?Kapeshtice) quarter. The cause was the killing of Osman Voksi, 66, in front of his house during yesterday's demonstrations. The meeting was attended by several hundred citizens, all of whom could not be accommodated in the hall and who expressed a general revulsion caused by this act, which has shaken the entire city.

The commune's social and political structures were invited to attend, but no one came. A number of demands were presented at the meeting which could help to stabilize the situation by eliminating whatever is causing grief among the Albanian population, making the situation even more hopeless, and burdening the already tense interethnic relations.

The Albanian people are neither cannibals, nor monkeys, nor terrorists, as we are being labelled by certain people in various forums, but honest people who desire and demand democracy and equality. We have always been in favor of Tito's Yugoslavia and not in favor of any Greater Albania, as is said by [words indistinct]. Brotherhood and unity has always been the road of our development, but these must be supported by full equality between all the peoples living in this territory of Yugoslavia, the citizens said at the meeting.

The citizens gathered here supported in their entirety the demands made by the Pristina students for the immediate withdrawal of the Internal Affairs Secretariat forces, since their behavior has caused insecurity in the [passage indistinct]. They also demanded the resignation of the entire communal and provincial leadership.

One of the speakers at the meeting, Rasid Berani, said: We have not gathered here for evil purposes, but only to demand tranquillity, security, equality, democracy, and the normal rights enjoyed by everyone else. It is impossible to go on in this way, he said.

Naim Jakupi, whose wife was injured by teargas which penetrated their home, said that the Albanian people have never been against the Serbs and Montenegrins, but only for brotherhood and unity. They are against those who have brought us to this state of affairs.

Another speaker, Burhan Berisa, said that everyone is speaking about the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, but no one mentions the emigration of Albanians to foreign countries.

The Albanian people in Kosovo are for Yugoslavia. They are not traitors, but are for brotherhood, equality, and unity, said Zecir Hoti, who went on to demand the intensification of the procedure for the formation and operation of political parties in Kosovo so that democracy may come here, too.

As a protest against the killing of Osman Voksi, who was also a participant in the National Liberation War, all private shops remained closed today, and at about 1100 tens of thousands of people marched through the city of Pec, holding up a portrait of Osman Voksi and making the V for Victory sign.

Meanwhile, citizens continue to lodge their protests against the unauthorized mistreatment and beatings by some militia members.

Albanian Doctors Deny Accusations

*AU1702210190 Pristina Domestic Service
in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 90*

[Text] A meeting with journalists was held today at the Surgical and Orthopaedic Clinic of Pristina University, at which evidence was provided with regard to the treatment of injured people in the clinic and information was given concerning the number of deaths.

Professor Dr. Gazmend Shaqiri, the clinic's director, rejected some untrue and tendentious articles written about this clinic. He said that during the latest demonstrations in Kosovo, medical teams were set up, as is usual, on a multinational basis. This is also how the teams operated. However, there have been cases when Serb and Montenegrin surgeons failed to join the teams that were operating. They may have had their reasons, said Prof. Dr. Gazmend Shaqiri, but the Albanian physicians cannot be accused of allegedly preventing them from joining in the operations and treatment of patients.

He said that these untruths, which have been published by some of the media in the Serbo-Croatian language, have been spread particularly by Dr (?Velaic), one of the clinic's most senior members.

According to the evidence presented to the journalists, the medical teams were set up normally and never on a national basis. It was also stated that this medical institution does not treat only Albanians, but all those who come to it, regardless of their nationality.

[Words indistinct] to the situation created by various disinformation, Serb and Montenegrin physicians are also refusing to attend the normal daily staff meetings held to review the work done and the state of patients.

According to the clinic's documents, 91 people were admitted to the clinic between 29 January and 6 February, of which 80 were injured and 11 were dead on arrival.

Social Democrats' Letter to Assembly

LD1802130190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1002 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, February 18 (TANJUG)—The initiative committee for founding the Social-Democratic Party in the southern Yugoslav Province Kosovo has sent an open letter to the Federal Assembly, in which it protests that this, the highest organ in the country gives a 'stereotype repetition of assessments and tasks for resolving the Kosovo crisis.'

The committee asks that the Assembly answer why manifestations by scores of thousands of ethnic Albanians (students of all ages, workers and farmers), with predominant demands for democratization, are qualified as 'nationalistic,' 'hostile,' 'terrorist,' and even as an attack on Yugoslavia.

The committee also asks why these and other publicly voiced demands are ignored and qualified as a 'mask which hides hostile intentions.' The letter claims that the dominant and legitimate requests by the majority of the population are being overshadowed by putting emphasis on peripheral nationalist slogans and the activities of smaller extremist groups.

The committee is also against the word 'terrorism' which presents a 'new contribution by the wrong policy on Kosovo implemented in the past ten years.'

Titova Mitrovica Protesters Dispersed

LD1902110990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—Albanian students in Kosovo have been boycotting their lessons since early this morning. Gathered in large groups, they are protesting by shouting the familiar slogans about democracy and freedom.

In Titova Mitrovica the militia had to disperse groups of young people who demonstrated and prevented them from entering the town center. In Pristina a large group of students of Albanian nationality marched through the town's streets this morning, their hands raised in the sign of victory. Several hundred pupils are walking around the schools in an attempt to convince their classmates to march through Pristina's streets. At the same time in the majority of collectives in Urosevac and Pec the workers of Albanian nationality are not working either.

Serbian Minister on Casualties

LD1902124290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—The figures about the number of killed and injured in Kosovo during the demonstrations and the escalation of terrorism since 23 January are false, Radmilo Bogdanic, republican secretary for internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, writes in a letter, printed in today's BORBA, in reply to a report in that newspaper on the press conference held by Idriz Ajeti and Zekeria Cana in Zagreb.

These two ringleaders of the Kosovo Committee for the Protection of Human Rights announced on that occasion that 32 people were killed and 143 injured during the recent demonstrations in Kosovo.

Radmilo Bogdanic notes that 27 demonstrators died and 110 were injured by firearms. He also adds that one militiaman was injured by a firearm, two received serious injuries, and 80 were slightly injured. The claims, Bogdanovic stresses, that special weapons and so-called "inhumane" ammunition are used in clashes with the demonstrators are untrue, since it is exclusively standard weapons and ammunition, with which members of the internal affairs organs are armed, that is used.

The report from this news conference, seen as a whole, and what was said on their aim to "debase the results of the authorities' legal organs and break the unity and effectiveness of the internal affairs organs that was achieved in this situation" amounts to "abusing the democratic processes, something that is a method anyway of Albanian nationalists and those who support them", the republican secretary for internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, maintains.

'Several Thousand' on Urosevac Streets

LD1902133290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Urosevac, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—Several thousand people, mostly young Albanian nationalists, have taken to the streets where they are repeating their demands for the extraordinary measures to be dropped, the militia to leave the town, and political prisoners to be freed, and are calling again for a republic of Kosovo. At about 0800 pupils and students set off for their schools only to return seconds later and march along Urosevac's main street with hands raised. A group of older people joined them.

Militia members warned them in Albanian through a public address system that they should disperse, which they did not, so teargas had to be used. It is odd, however, that the students and pupils of the Albanian-language secondary and primary schools are allegedly afraid to go to past the militia on their way to school, but they do not fear to provoke and call them names and hurl stones at them.

Outside the seamless piping factory, where the workers of Albanian nationality have been on strike for 20 days, the security workers, receptionists, and militiamen denied access to the factory's premises and its canteen to the Albanian workers of the second and third shift who come there only to debate and eat lunch. The factory's door was opened only to those willing to work. In the Mineks factory six workers, foremen, have been suspended for failing to carry out their duties. For 18 days, 230 strikers of Albanian nationality have made it a condition that work will resume provided there is a guarantee that no measures will be taken against the strike's organizers and participants. The most difficult situation is in the vicinity of the Mineks factory where more than 1,000 demonstrators have gathered. After 1200 Urosevac's main street is quiet, but several thousand demonstrators on the side streets and the outskirts of the town are waiting for their opportunity to appear on the main street.

Albanian Nationalists' Acts Protested

*LD1902140990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Summary] Pec, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—More than 500 Serbs and Montenegrins from the village of Gorozdevac, near Pec, gathered today to protest the latest rampage by the village's Albanian nationalists and separatists. They also demanded that the local primary school be closed until differentiation is carried out among its staff, who are said to be the center of Albanian nationalism and separatism in the area.

Militia Uses Tear Gas

*AU1902145190 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] A wave of unrest has again overtaken Kosovo. There were demonstrations today in Urosevac, Pec, Djakovica, Pristina, Lipljan, Decani, Podujevo, and Vucitrn; and there was unrest on a smaller scale in almost all other places in the province.

On two occasions Albanian separatists demonstrated on Urosevac's streets. At about 0900 [0800 GMT] strong militia forces managed to disperse the demonstrators from the center of town using tear gas. At noon exactly [1100 GMT] quite a large group of older Albanians again

began to demonstrate and the demonstrators' pronounced aggressiveness caused the militia to use tear gas again. Stones were again thrown at people in blue uniforms.

Shooting could be heard in Urosevac today but no one was injured, according to reports so far. Eyewitnesses confirm that the militia shot into the air.

More than 20,000 Albanians gathered this morning in the center of Decani. They are demanding that the provincial leaders explain how far they have gotten in meeting the demands that they put forward two days ago. Let us recall that the Decani people's demands correspond to those of the students. Traffic in Decani is virtually paralyzed because of the great number of people in the streets.

Demonstrations by several hundred Albanians began at noon in Lipljan. As soon as the militia appeared the demonstrators ran away.

A group of about 1,000 schoolchildren demonstrated in Vucitrn and then headed toward the village of Stanovce, where there was violent unrest two weeks ago.

About 500 young Albanians demonstrated in Pristina's student district. In a very tense and explosive atmosphere, strong militia forces dispersed about 2,000 Pristina people from the main street without using force.

Several thousand Albanians are also demonstrating today in Djakovica. In all demonstrations the same slogans can be heard as those in earlier unrest. The only new slogan that was heard today for the first time was, Bloody Tuesday.

There was also a demonstration for the first time in Kosovo Polje. About 200 ethnic Albanian schoolchildren, no older than 10 years, passed through Kosovo Polje shouting the already well-known separatist slogans. They ran away as soon as the militia appeared.

Almost all secondary schoolchildren and the majority of primary schoolchildren are boycotting lessons in the Albanian language. Albanians employed in all collectives in Pec have again stopped work. There is a similar situation in Urosevac, the mines of Kisnica and Novo Brdo, and the work organizations in Podujevo.

The disinformation that well-known militant Albanian separatist ideologist Adam Demaci had been released from jail caused much shooting in Podujevo last night. Eyewitnesses confirm that all types of firearms were used, even machineguns. Two large explosions were also heard. It is assumed that the Albanian nationalists were celebrating the news of Demaci's prison release.

Adam Demaci has been sentenced three times for hostile activities against Yugoslavia. The last time, in 1976, the court sentenced him to 15 years in prison. He is the main advocate of Kosovo's secession through an armed uprising. The provincial secretariat for internal affairs

thinks that Albanian separatists launched the disinformation about his release to the public.

500 Albanian Women Protest in Pec

LD1902184490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Pec, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—About 500 Albanian women gathered in the park today around 1400 in front of the municipal League of Communists committee to voice their protest against the presence of the combined militia unit in the town and its, as they put it, incorrect behavior.

At the gathering they also said that as a result of the presence of the combined militia unit, Albanians are no longer safe in their homes and work places and that their freedom of movement is jeopardized.

Bajram Haskaj, president of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia municipal conference, talked with the women. After three hours of talks, the women dispersed peacefully.

Pristina Radio Reports 19 Feb Protests

AU1902195690

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 19 February devotes 28 minutes of its extended 48-minute newscast to reports on the day's events in Kosovo.

The report states that in Pristina "There were mass gatherings of citizens of the Albanian nationality today. There were demonstrations throughout the city, whose center was blocked by units of the militia." The report also states that "classes were not held today in the majority of the schools in Pristina," and that "lectures in the Albanian language were only held in three of the university's 17 faculties."

An indistinct telephone report from Urosevac states that the situation "is very serious and dramatic." The report also cites "violent clashes and confrontations between demonstrators and members of the militia," and states that "at least three demonstrators were injured," and that "in no case did the demonstrators shout a single hostile slogan, apart from the slogans: Democracy, democracy; Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia; and others."

A telephone report from Decani states that "15,000 Albanians" held a protest gathering today and demanded "the strictest measures against members of the militia unit who exceeded their authorities at the expense of the innocent population." The report also cites the protesters as demanding "the resignation of all the communal and provincial authorities, and the revocation of the mandates given to the delegates to the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress." The protesters are reported to have "dispersed peacefully," after which talks were held between their representatives and the communal authorities.

A telephone report from Pec states that "the situation is very serious and complicated. Life is virtually paralyzed, and there were no classes in high schools today." The report also states that no work was done at the motor vehicle spare parts or leatherwork enterprises. Private tradesmen in Pec are also reported to have stopped work, and to have "sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency and Ante Markovic, chairman of the Federal Executive Council, protesting the murder of their fellow citizen Osman Vokshi, and calling for an end to what they call the genocide and massacre of the Albanian population." The report also mentions the gathering of Serbian women in Gorozdevac and a "gathering of about 200 Albanian women in Pec, who protested the behavior of the militia who exceeded their authority." The women are reported as stating that "they had always lived in harmony with the Serbs and Montenegrins, and that irresponsible leaders, not the people, were to blame for the situation that has arisen."

A telephone report from Prizren reports a demonstration of "about 200 Albanian young people," which was "dispersed by the militia," while a correspondent from Podujevo reports a "total" school boycott.

Various protests by school pupils are also reported from Titova Mitrovica, Vucitrn, Gnjilane, Djakovica, Suva Reka, Mramor, and Crni Lug.

Serbia Urged To Solve Problem 19 Feb

LD1902202790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—This evening in Kosovo Polje, a mass spontaneous gathering of citizens of this town and many other places in Kosovo and Metohija was held in reaction to today's events and "bloody Tuesday" which Albanian terrorists heralded for the Serbian Montenegrin people. The following statement was issued from the gathering, directed by the Kosovo Polje Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWP] municipal committee Presidium and the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo Presidium:

"We demand from the Serbian state to undertake as soon as tonight all necessary measures for the protection of Serbs and Montenegrins from the massacre heralded by Albanian separatists and terrorists. We call on the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo and Metohija to organize themselves during the night."

As stated, at the same time it was decided that a new gathering be held tomorrow at 0800 in Kosovo Polje, when they will assess the situation, and in accordance with it, adopt appropriate self-defense measures. They also warn that if the state does not undertake measures during the night, they will call on all willing volunteers to come immediately to Kosovo. They called on the entire Serbian and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo and Metohija to be resolute in remaining in their ancestral homes.

All branches of the Bozur association [for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo], which are holding their meetings this evening throughout the province, have endorsed the statement's stands.

Joint Statement Issued on Kosovo

*AU1902191290 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia, and the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Kosovo are warning all Kosovo citizens, workers, farmers, teachers, and pupils and students, as well as their parents, that the organs of internal affairs are obliged to carry out the measures of the SFRY Presidency; prevent protest gatherings, demonstrations, and other forms of illegal behavior; ensure absolute public peace and order; and protect the personal and other property of all citizens.

The joint statement is asking all citizens to respect the SFRY Presidency's measures and the decision and order concerning the ban on gathering which is still in force.

This will, according to the statement, contribute toward personal safety and the safety of one's own children, as well as toward the prevention of the consequences that could arise from the measures of intervention by the internal affairs organs.

It is also stressed that the security organs of the secretariat for internal affairs and all other security forces in Kosovo are doing their utmost to establish and preserve public peace and order, as well as the safety of all citizens regardless of their nationality.

Extraordinary Presidency Session Held

*LD2002081990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 0629 GMT 20 Feb 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—An extraordinary session of the SFRY Presidency has been scheduled for this morning in connection with the latest political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Urosevac 'Peaceful'; Security on Patrol

*LD2002112890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0850 GMT 20 Feb 90*

[Text] Urosevac, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Information portending a separatist "Bloody Tuesday" today emptied the streets of Urosevac. In addition to schoolchildren of Albanian nationality, neither Serbs nor Montenegrins went to school today.

Bogoljub Janicijevic, commandant of the police station in Urosevac, who was injured yesterday by Albanian terrorists and who was saved only thanks to the attentiveness of a policeman of the combined unit, returned to work today after receiving medical treatment. At 0930

it is peaceful in Urosevac, and strong security forces are on patrol in key places in the town.

The tubes factory and Mineks are at a standstill. Workers of Albanian nationality who have been on strike for 20 days now are continuing to repeat their old unacceptable political demands.

Further on 'Tense' Situation

*AU2002094190 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 20 Feb 90*

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] The situation in Kosovo is very tense. Serbs and Montenegrins are forced again to organize themselves against the terror of Albanian separatists. About 5,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje and other places in Kosovo gathered in Kosovo Polje this morning. The Committee for Self-Protection and Coordination has been formed. Mitar Balevic, president of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo Polje, told the people gathered that Serbia has taken all measures to ensure the personal security of Kosovo citizens and their property.

The Committee for Self-Protection and Coordination has been in contact with all sections of the Peony Association throughout Kosovo. The decision on the self-defense of Serbs and Montenegrins will remain in power. The committee demands that the names of organizers of the Albanian separatists' rebellion be made known immediately and that these people be arrested. The Kosovo Polje committee asks all Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo to remain in their houses and work places because these places are now the most secure.

Fifty students from the Pristina student dormitories took refuge in Kosovo Polje last night because Albanian separatists mistreated them during the unrest last night. These students, who are coming from different parts of Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo, say that life in student dormitories has become unbearable because of the separatists' riots.

Serbs, Montenegrins Hold Meeting

*LD2002101290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 20 Feb 90*

[Text] Pristina, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The Socialist Republic of Serbia will take all measures to ensure the safety and the defense of every Serbian and Montenegrin house in Kosovo. These measures will be carried out today, it was announced at this morning's meeting in Kosovo Polje of about 10,000 Serbians and Montenegrins. The headquarters for self-protection and coordination with all sections of the Bozur association [an association for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo], and with the competent organs, will, it was said, monitor the situation and provide timely information to the people as to how to act. In order to facilitate the state organs' actions, it is recommended that for

security reasons people do not leave their homes or their workplace and that children are not sent to school.

One demand made at the Kosovo Polje meeting was that during the day the names of the organizers of the latest disturbances be announced, and that they be arrested.

Titova Mitrovica Situation 'Difficult'

*LD2002115490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1023 GMT 20 Feb 90*

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The political security situation in the municipality of Titova Mitrovica is extremely difficult and complex. The latest events in Kosovo are causing it to deteriorate by the hour.

Miners on the third shift at Trepca mine in Stari Trg last night did not go down, and this morning miners of the first shift are not working either. They have gathered in the works' canteen and are supporting the earlier demands of the students and Kosovo democrats and are refusing to enter into any dialogue.

Workers on the third shift at Trepca's metallurgy and zinc plant in Titova Mitrovica did not go home after work either. They remained in the work's canteen.

Schoolchildren of Albanian nationality at the Technical School center in Titova Mitrovica and Zvecan, and the Medical and Economics School are not attending classes today. They gathered in schoolyards where they are joined by small groups of schoolchildren from primary schools, and even by the youngest with their fingers raised in the victory sign. It is only in this way that work is going ahead in the school. Teaching has also been hampered in primary schools. In departments where teaching is in Serbo-Croatian few children turned up for classes this morning, so departments are being merged and the children sent home early.

In the town as a whole there is a prevailing psychosis of great nervousness and uncertainty. Miladin Radulovic Krcun local community in Zvecan has sent a demand to the security organs in Titova Mitrovica for the protection of inhabitants from the daily provocations of pupils of Albanian nationality. Unless this happens, they say in their demand, they will organize protection themselves.

Trepca combine's committee for all people's defense and social self-protection is demanding that all measures envisaged by the law be taken against those who have infringed compulsory work orders.

A session of the municipal executive council, which is considering the situation in the town, is under way in Titova Mitrovica.

New Demonstrations Reported

*LD2002124190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1204 GMT 20 Feb 90*

[Text] Pristina, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Several attempted demonstrations and protests were recorded in Kosovo this morning. In Dusanovac near Prizren about 200 people attempted to demonstrate but were dispersed by police intervention. A similar thing happened in Obilic when schoolchildren went out into the streets to protest. At noon exactly demonstrations began again in Urosevac. The heralded "bloody Tuesday" of the Albanian separatists and terrorists caused indignation amongst the inhabitants of the Serbian village of Kusce, who also sought arms today.

The province's economy has obviously been most affected by the disturbances. In Dragas and Podujevo virtually no one is working, while Albanian miners at the mines of Goles and Kisnica i Nova Brda near Pristina refused to go down into the pits.

Azem Vlasi Trial Adjourned 'Indefinitely'

*LD1902195590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Summary] Titova Mitrovica, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—As a result of the absence of a lawyer defending three of the accused, it was decided to indefinitely adjourn the trial of Azem Vlasi and the 14 accused [of provoking the disturbances in Kosovo last year], which is being held in Titova Mitrovica.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Backs FEC Changes

*LD1902154990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—Today, at a session of all its chambers, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly adopted a FEC [Federal Executive Council] proposal to set in motion the changes to the SFRY Constitution, following President Zlatan Karavdic's explanation. A separate decision on this was adopted. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly adopted 22 of the 26 amendments of the Slovene Assembly. The four remaining amendments—on the abolition of funds for the underdeveloped, the method of introducing a state of emergency, and those on changing the structure and the functioning of all of Yugoslavia—should be discussed in the course of the debate on the federal Constitution. [passage omitted]

Slovene LC Officials on Relations with LCY*LD1902134390 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1203 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, February 19 (TANJUG)—'The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) no longer exists' for the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal, as the League of Communists of Slovenia is called since early February—Slovenian party head, Dr Ciril Ribicic said in an interview to Radio Glas Ljubljane (Voice of Ljubljana), which is today reported in the Slovenian daily DNEVNIK.

Such an outcome had been expected from the moment when the top-level meeting of Yugoslav Communists was discontinued on January 23 after delegates from Slovenia left the congress, displeased that their proposals were outvoted. Founding their independent political organization, the Communists of Slovenia underscored that, for them, the LCY Congress was over, and the federal party as it had existed up until the congress ceased to exist on January 23, as well as all the party organs. They underscored also that all financial obligations of the League of Communists of Slovenia to the current LCY have also ceased to exist.

The League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal met only with the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army since the 14th special congress was discontinued, Ribicic told Radio Glas Ljubljane. Ribicic said that the meeting, which was attended also by head of the Army party organization Petar Simic, 'revealed deep differences, but also understanding by both sides.'

Ribicic said that the Army party organization had taken several significant steps towards the recognition of democratic reformist changes, since it had agreed to a multi-party system and thus accepted the prevalent opinion. Ribicic said that Simic had presented the stand of the Fifth Army District, which is not in favor of the founding of a parallel organization of the LCY in Slovenia.

Ribicic confirmed that in Slovenia, 'forces are rallying which believe that a parallel organization of the LCY should be formed,' but that that would, in his opinion, 'be the biggest historical mistake' of Slovenian Communists.

'Most Problems' on 14th Congress 'Clarified'*LD1602211990 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1932 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee said today that most of the problems relating to the recent adjournment of the 14th special party congress had been clarified.

Without specifying the nature of the problems, the top party body demanded that every effort be made toward the congress resuming work and a platform being drawn up on which all republican and provincial party forums, as well as the party committee in the Army, would declare themselves before the congress resumes.

The 14th special party congress was adjourned a month ago after the majority of delegates rejected the amendments of the Republic of Slovenia to the joint draft declaration. The Slovenian delegation's leaving the congress and its adjournment have caused new disputes within the LCY. However, a possibility is now opening of finding a common language through a joint platform which the Central Committee will review at its session scheduled for March 1, the Presidency said.

The Presidency today relieved Stefan Korosec of his duty as secretary of the Central Committee and appointed Petar Skundric to the post. There was no additional information on the move. Korosec left the 14th congress together with other members of the Slovenian delegation.

Budimir Loncar Outlines Foreign Policy*AU0902111790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
5 Feb 90 p 8*

[Mirko Klarin report: "Offensive in Three Directions"]

[Text] The two-hour discussion of Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, with about 20 Yugoslav journalists in Belgrade at the end of last week provided an opportunity for a special "stocktaking" of our country's international position and foreign policy activities. The intensity and scope of this activity is evident from the fact that in the course of last year Loncar had no less than 343 "working meetings" with foreign ministers, heads of state, premiers, and other high-ranking officials in about 90 countries.

We will try to provide an account of these meetings and other forms of our hectic diplomatic machinery's work through extracts and highlights from this joint "stock-taking interview" with Federal Secretary Loncar.

Integration in Europe: An intensive dialogue was conducted with Western Europe last year. We have been able to affirm all our achievements, above all the value of the government's economic reform, our exceptionally good relations with individual countries such as Italy and the FRG, as well as our long-term principles which have now been justified by the Eastern European reforms and the surmounting of bloc rivalries. We have successfully striven to point out their interdependence, and that whether we move fast in the best and desired direction depends on their attitude and support.

The result of this has been a significant shift towards institutionalizing our relations with Western Europe. We have also applied for "associate" status in the European Community, membership in the free trade area of the

EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries, full membership in the Council of Europe, and membership in the OECD.

Conditions: By accepting the declaration for Yugoslavia's further involvement in the process of integration in Europe, the SFRY Assembly feels obliged to create the legal preconditions for such a step. Those who have accepted such a declaration must be aware of what it means.

Who is ahead: The Hungarians have already fulfilled some key conditions (of the Council of Europe): They have changed the Constitution and introduced a multiparty system. We also support a multiparty system, but this has not yet been embodied in the Constitution. From this point of view, they are ahead of us.

However, we are ahead in our chances for "associate membership" in the Community. Our economy is already oriented toward cooperation with the West, from where about 80 percent of our technology and equipment comes (in the cases of other Eastern countries it is perhaps 10 percent). As for total integration into the EEC, I think that we, with all the groundwork we that have prepared, are ahead of Turkey, which long ago submitted a formal application.

Presence in the East: We are more active and committed in the East than is visible. In Berlin and Prague, where two different kinds of structures are in power, I met with the same invitation: "Stand out more! You sowed the seed which is now sprouting. Your place is within these trends, and we want you to take part!"

As forerunners in the reform of socialism, and especially now at the outset of major political and economic reforms, we still have credibility in these areas. We have not fallen behind in our diplomacy. We have established contact with all the new social forces that have arrived on the political scene. The impression existed at one time that we had fallen behind in the movement of sociopolitical ideas, but we have now made up for this. Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn testified to this in Strasbourg recently: "Yugoslavia was the first to start, and is still foremost in all reform movements."

Invigorating Nonalignment: Our effort to redirect the movement and to bring it to new positions was very strenuous, but bore fruit. We have gained a lot of recognition for this, not only within the movement, but outside it.

As chairman, we are in constant communication with members of the movement and bloc leaders. We are striving to show the powerful and developed countries that there can be no world stability and no new European world order, without taking into consideration the problems and interests of this enormous group, which now includes 120 countries. We ascribe great importance to the special session of the UN General Assembly on problems of development, which we are striving to prepare for in a new way. We are striving to reach full

agreement in preliminary dialogue with the developed nations over the declaration and the action which must necessarily be taken, with mutual respect for each other's interests.

Neighbors and Minorities: Good-neighborly relations are a priority of our foreign policy. This is the way we approach the world. However, neighborliness is not always something that is easy to attain.

We have therefore pursued a policy of good relations with our neighbors, and within this framework have put all open questions on the agenda, especially the question of minorities. Minorities, not only in this Balkan region but elsewhere, are often a stumbling block in relations with neighbors.

Let us take, for example, Italy. Our relations with Italy are among the best, and are considered exemplary in a total European context. Nevertheless, the question of the protection of the Slovene minority in Italy cannot be solved so quickly, although it is permanently on the agenda, and the Italian Government is exerting pressure through parliament to adopt a law for the overall protection of minorities.

The situation is similar with Austria, but here we are relying on Article Seven of the State Treaty.

Furthermore, we have long had stable relations and an understanding with Hungary over minority questions. Nevertheless, we could not say that the ethnic Hungarians in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav minorities in Hungary enjoy identical opportunities.

The position of the Serbian and Croatian minorities in Romania has constantly been on the agenda of our relations. This question has sometimes been prominent, and sometimes less so (when Ceausescu confronted Brezhnev and his doctrine of limited sovereignty, which for us represented a significant easing in our neighborly relations). The position of the minorities must be considered within the context of the total situation in the country. In Ceausescu's time, there were not many rights in Romania even for the Romanians, let alone the minorities. However, at our last meeting with Ceausescu in 1988, which in fact became a "farewell meeting," we raised the question of minorities and gave priority to it, which led to a decisive divergence of views.

Bulgaria is one of our neighbors with whom we have had very many difficulties both recently and in the past. Their idea has been to put to one side issues on which we disagree, and to pursue those on which we agree. We have nevertheless regularly raised the question of the position of the Macedonian minority, asking that it be given priority. For instance, Milka Planinc raised this question in its most acute form in Sofia, and later in talks with the Bulgarian premier in Belgrade. Because of their stubborn refusal, in recent years we have not accepted dozens of their proposals for talks at the highest level.

A similar problem exists in our relationship with Greece, particularly with their failure to recognize the Macedonian minority. This question has always been on the agenda. For instance, the memorandum Milka Planinc and Lazar Mojsov presented some time ago in Athens was devoted to it. We believed that a breakthrough would be achieved when the Socialists came to power, but this has not occurred.

Albania is, of course, our most difficult neighbor. At one time, in a different situation, before the East moved toward reform and when bloc strategies were more significant than they are today, Albania exploited the West's sympathy in order to portray us as a large country exerting pressure on a small one. Of course, the events in

Kosovo and our internal disunity (in assessing them) has made a consistent policy toward Albania more difficult to pursue.

I nevertheless think that we have recently succeeded in gaining (the world's) understanding, and that the picture of the historical development of this area and the problems with which we are confronted is now a realistic one. For example, Rocard told me directly that he feels it is a case of diversionary tactics against reformist and democratic movements, and that, of course, the most important thing is to preserve Yugoslavia's integrity and establish peace, even at the price of using a degree of force. However, what he cannot grasp, he said, is that there is no understanding and agreement among all our republics over this crucial question, but that, on the contrary, the issue is exacerbating ethnic antagonism in Yugoslavia.